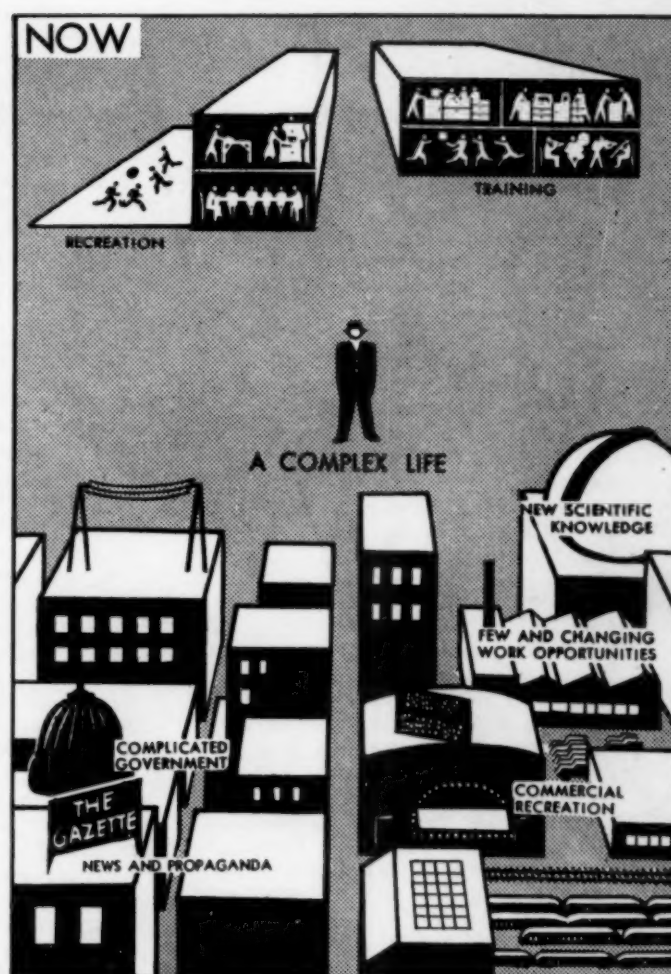
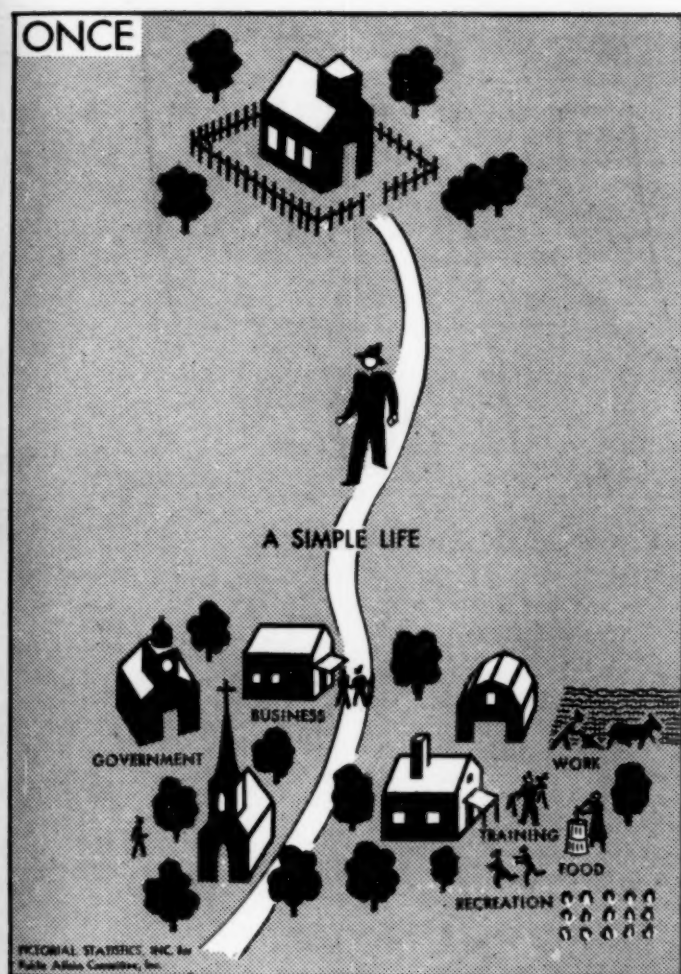


The AMERICAN TEACHER

24:2

OCTOBER, 1939



Courtesy PUBLIC AFFAIRS Pamphlets

Youth in a Changing World by Floyd W. Reeves

Inside the Cover

Bricklayer-mayor Trygve Nilsen of Oslo credited the labor party with stopping fascism in Norway. . . . In his town revenue from city-owned movies helps to build homes for the aged and to develop art and cultural activities. . . . Commissioner Arthur Potterton, Mayor Frank Hague's chief aid, recently "welcomed" the first convention of a CIO union in Jersey City. . . . Non-union Boston Symphony Orchestra was replaced by the unionized New York Philharmonic Orchestra at the music festival of the American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers . . . under the will of Col. Henry Lee Higginson, who founded the Boston orchestra, his endowment may be used only so long as the orchestra remains non-union. . . . Higginson was a director of AT&T and General Electric.

If you're interested, 97 U. S. representatives voted for the Townsend old-age pension bill last June—55 Republicans, 40 Democrats and a Progressive and a Farmer-Laborite. . . . The Co-operative Book Club did \$16,341 worth of business the first five months of '39 with the new wholesale department outstripping the retail business. . . . eighteen governors signed the recent American Declaration of Tolerance and Equality. . . . John Lewis' daughter has "adopted" a 10-year-old Spanish orphan boy . . . the *New Republic* now carries the Book and Magazine Guild (CIO) label on its cover. . . . Pietro di Donato, author of the fast-selling *Christ in Concrete*, is, appropriately enough, a member of the bricklayers' union.

The Federal Trade Commission has just issued a 13-page complaint against Hearst Magazines Inc. and *Good Housekeeping* for operating a phoney system of "guarantys" and "seals of approval" . . . the report rips the testing scope of the Good Housekeeping Institute. . . . Income tax dodgers might well look to the record of the sharecroppers and tenants who borrowed government money to purchase their own farms . . . according to the Farm Security Administration although only \$103,033 was due, as of March 31, 1939, the borrowers had already paid back \$138,978.

The American Federation of Radio Actors at its annual convention re-elected President Eddie Cantor, Vice President Lawrence Tibbett and Treasurer George Heller and opposed any change in the Wagner Labor Act. . . . Gov. Julius Heil's legislature recently voted a 2c tax on cigarettes and voted down a tax on cigars costing 10c or more . . . the Governor smokes 50c Corona-Coronas. . . . Tom Girdler's pay last year was \$160,416. . . . In 1937 the average

income of the U. S. citizen was \$547, and in Mississippi, Alabama, Arkansas and South Carolina the figure was less than half that much. . . . John Connolly, WPA worker who refused to strike when 300 others walked off the job, was praised and promised a raise . . . it never came through because John was laid off under the new 18-month regulation.

The Free Press: A survey by "Fortune" magazine indicates that people read, but don't believe, their newspapers. The following table is in answer to the question, Do you think publishers soft-pedal news unfavorable to:

	Yes	No
Friendly politicians	65.8%	14.8%
Friends of the publisher. . .	63.3%	14.3%
Big advertisers	60.6%	18.5%
Business in general.	50.1%	29.6%
Labor unions	41.5%	31.8%

The rest of the answers were divided among those who said they did not know and similar non-committal answers.

While most people think the publisher can be "reached," the poll showed, they have a much higher regard for the publisher's hirelings. If anybody corrupts them it's the publisher.

The question asked was whether reporters' impartiality is affected by:

	Yes	No	Don't know
Membership in labor unions	34.6%	31.3%	32.7%
Fear of the boss.	55.6%	20.9%	20.8%

In other words, a clear majority thought that fear of the boss affected the impartiality of the reporters while an equally clear minority thought membership in labor unions affected the reporters' viewpoint. Most of them didn't know or were sure that such union membership did not so influence the reporter.

George E. Sokolsky was paid \$28,599.47 by the Iron and Steel Institute at the same time that he was writing (many times on industrial disputes) his column for the *Herald Tribune Syndicate*. . . . Judge H. G. Sutton stopped the King County commissioners from granting the county printing contract to the *Washington New Dealer*, official paper of the Washington Commonwealth Federation, a strong liberal group in the state of Washington. . . . Mark Starr, educational director of the ILGWU, told the League of Women Voters recently that organized labor receives unfair publicity in newspapers because it cannot spend \$4,000,000 in ads. . . . The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (AFL) has filed suit against the *Mount Vernon Daily Argus* for \$850,000 because of a slanderous story about the union. . . . President Roosevelt recently denounced the United Press as having been "guilty of falsification of the actual facts" . . . the *New York Times* printed 160,000 words on the visit of the King and Queen of England to the U. S. and 000 words (or close to it) on the Guild-Times NLRB case.

Reports substantiating the charge that "one-third of the American people is ill-housed, ill-clothed and ill-fed" continue to come in as studies are published by the Works Projects Administration, the Federal Trade Commission, the Tem-

(Continued on Page 31)

Contributors to This Issue

Dr. George Counts (Local 537), the new national president of the American Federation of Teachers, has just written a pamphlet called "The Schools Can Teach Democracy." . . . Newly appointed head of the American Youth Commission and head of the Advisory Committee on Education, **Dr. Floyd Reeves** (Local 259), gave "Youth in a Changing World" as a speech at one of the NEA meetings in San Francisco. . . . **James Mitchell** formerly taught at the Francis Parker School in Chicago and is now working for the Progressive Education Association on their Commission on Human Relations. He was a member of Local 442 and is probably now a member of Local 5. . . . **Frank Murphy** is Attorney General of the United States. . . . One of the editors of *Technological Trends and National Resources* (published by the National Resources Committee), **Bernard Stern** is a lecturer in anthropology at Columbia University and the editor of *The Family*, a Progressive Education Association publication. . . . **Howard Lane** (North Shore College Teachers Union 635) is a member of the faculty of the School of Education, Northwestern University, and is concerned about schools for children. . . . **F. D. Roosevelt** is President of the United States. This is an edited version of the talk which he gave to the Conference on Children in a Democracy, the proceedings of which have been published by the Government Printing Office and can be obtained for 20 cents. . . . President of the New York College Teachers Union, **Alonzo Myers** here gives us the final installment of his complete review of the Regents' Inquiry Report. We hope to be able to print some comments on the review included in this issue in our November issue. . . . **Lillian Herstein** is a long-time member of the AFT (Local 1), a member of the executive board of the Chicago Federation of Labor and, incidentally, is in charge of lecturers for the junior colleges in Chicago. . . . A member of Local 438, Ohio State University, **Norman Woelfel** is a former managing editor of the *Social Frontier*. . . . **George T. Guernsey** is editor of the *AMERICAN TEACHER*.

The AMERICAN TEACHER

Published by The American Federation of Teachers

VOLUME XXIV

OCTOBER, 1939

NUMBER 2

IN THIS ISSUE

Cover	Public Affairs Committee	
Youth in a Changing World.....	Floyd W. Reeves	6
Films for Human Relations.....	James P. Mitchell	11
The Meaning of Civil Liberty.....	Frank Murphy	13
Culture in a Democratic Society.....	Bernard J. Stern	16
Schools for Tomorrow's Children.....	Howard A. Lane	18
Children in a Democracy.....	Franklin D. Roosevelt	19

DEPARTMENTS

Inside the Cover.....	George T. Guernsey	2
The Contributors		2
Editorial Paragraphs		3
The President's Page, Our Job for the Current Year	George S. Counts	5
Letters to the Editor		22
Among the New Books:		
The Changing Elementary School, Education for American Life	Alonso F. Myers	24
Labor Problems and the American Scene	Lillian Herstein	27
Heroes of Thought	Norman Woolfel	27
On the Labor Front		28
Drawings by Chandler Montgomery		

THE EDITORS of the AMERICAN TEACHER request that no material be reprinted from this magazine without an accompanying credit line stating the source and the issue in which such material appeared.

THE AMERICAN TEACHER GEORGE T. GUERNSEY, Editor

ENTERED as second class matter January 3, 1939, at the post office at Chicago, Illinois, under the act of March 3, 1879. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of February 28, 1925, authorized November 3, 1926.

SUBSCRIPTION: \$2.50 for the year—Foreign \$2.60—Single copies, 35c. Published monthly except June, July and August, at 506 S. Wabash Ave., Chicago, Ill. Subscribers are requested to give prompt notice of changes of address. Remittances should be made in postal or express money orders, draft, stamps, or check.

43

THE *Saturday Evening Post*, traditional enemy of organized labor (against whom the Typographical Union is conducting a boycott) and everything progressive including the public schools, has seen fit to publish an attack on the American Federation of Teachers by Benjamin Stolberg. A week later there appeared in the *Post* a "smear" of the Railway Mediations Board and on September 16 the National Labor Relations Board was the victim.

Delegates to the 1938 convention can tell you that there was no anti-Semitic campaign against Lillian Herstein when she ran for national president. The charges against the AMERICAN TEACHER are interesting in the light of the 23-page report of comments on the magazine from outstanding educators and AFT Locals which was distributed at the 1939 national convention. Those who know of the untiring devotion of Jerome Davis to the cause of better education in America

will be happy to know that he has engaged the firm of Weil, Gotshal, and Manges of New York City to enter a libel suit against the *Post*.

But why, some may ask, did the *Post* attack the Union?

One might ask in answer, has the AFT taken the lead in exposing the attacks on school budgets coming from groups which the *Saturday Evening Post* represents? Does the *Post* fear socially-minded teachers who help their students to think critically about the world in which they live? Is the Teachers Union growing rapidly and becoming the most effective force for Education for Democracy—Democracy in Education in America?

The answer to all these questions which help to explain the *Post's* attack is simply, "Yes."

As Secretary-Treasurer I. R. Kuenzli has already pointed out in a letter to all Locals, "This is a typical method which has been used many times in local and state situations, but never before have we had sufficient power to warrant an attack from such a journal as the *Saturday Evening Post*. This is the greatest recognition of prestige and power which has ever come to the American Federation of Teachers. Let us accept the challenge and move forward as the real power our opponents recognize us to be."

★ ★ ★

BECAUSE of certain technical difficulties in making up the AMERICAN TEACHER this month an official communication from Mary Foley Grossman, national legislative representative, is published on page 23 of this issue. We call it to your attention because it deals with a program for keeping America out of war.

★ ★ ★

IT IS GENERALLY RECOGNIZED that the maintenance of academic freedom faces a most critical test in the next few years. There are some indications that developments as extreme as those encountered during the World War and the frenzied 'twenties may be expected. In some quarters the present European war is motivating a reappearance of the superpatriotism which led to the Lusk raids. Whether or not the war continues, the preparations of reactionaries in the United States for the 1940 elections may lead to abridgements of teacher freedom.

That these lugubrious predictions are not simply

guesses is suggested by an examination of the recent history of abridgements of academic freedom. In its report for 1938, the Academic Freedom Committee of the AAUP indicates that its work was more extensive for that year than for any in the past five. In 1938 our own Academic Freedom Committee handled almost twice as many cases as in the preceding year; furthermore in a number of states it encountered cases of mass dismissal. In Goose Creek, Tex., thirty-one teachers were dismissed in a body in violation of academic freedom; in Jacksonville, Fla., forty teachers were dismissed for union efforts to secure passage of a tenure law.

The handling of cases of this type, which unfortunately are the prototype of cases likely to arise in a period of hysteria, poses two problems. To a large extent the AFT has solved the problem of financing activities aimed at the reinstatement of ousted teachers. The National Defense Fund, which has been built up by setting aside one cent per member per month from per capita, has made it possible to assist given locals in the solution of financial problems arising in connection with academic-freedom cases. However, no progress has as yet been made in solving the second problem, which bids fair to become even more important than the first. We refer to the problem of helping ousted teachers sustain themselves during the period in which a fight for reinstatement is being waged.

Some recent campaigns to reinstate ousted teachers have dragged on for several years. The successful efforts to reinstate Messrs. Cook and Wolf in Chicago Teachers College took more than seventeen months. Professor Keeney's reinstatement followed almost three years of activity. How long it will take to secure the reinstatement of the Goose Creek teachers and the Jacksonville teachers is difficult to say. It is to be noted that in the case of the Jacksonville teachers the average length of service is ten years; one teacher has served for more than thirty years; ten have served for more than twenty years. As in the Goose Creek situation, most of the teachers are men and women with families; some of them have little to fall back on. Since the opening of the current semester, a number of new cases have developed at Montana State University and the president of the New Jersey State Federation of Teachers has been dismissed. Among the five men threatened with dismissal at Montana are two heads of departments and a dean, all with long years of service behind them. The president of the New Jersey State Federation of Teachers is a World War veteran and the father of five children.

Making provision to help sustain teachers who have been ousted on improper grounds or who are threatened with dismissal is not a matter of sentimentality or humanitarianism. It is a fundamental

aspect of the proper defense of academic freedom. In emergency periods such as the present, and in periods of hysteria, a sustaining fund is to the defense of academic freedom what a strike fund is to the defense of the workers' right to unionize.

At the present time the National Defense Fund is much too small to be used as a sustaining fund; furthermore it is unlikely that the fund will ever grow to such proportion as to allow for its use as a sustaining fund. The national budget is so tied up at present as not to permit the creation of such a fund. Teachers are therefore urged to initiate discussions of the best means for establishing a sustaining fund and to forward the results of such discussions to the National Academic Freedom Committee. In the eyes of the Committee no problem is of more immediate significance.

A. S.

★ ★ ★

THIS ISSUE is the second number of Volume XXIV of the AMERICAN TEACHER. During the year the American Federation of Teachers will publish eight issues of the AMERICAN TEACHER in magazine form and an undetermined number of newspapers which will be issued as Part II. In the main, the newspapers will carry the news of what Locals are doing and short articles dealing with problems which confront the AFT, while the magazine will carry the more general educational articles.

We have some 20,000 copies of the September issue of the magazine, a sixteen-page report of the national convention, which we think should be distributed as widely as possible. Copies will be sold at the rate of \$8.00 per 1,000, \$4.50 per 500 and a penny apiece. We have already received an order from one member of the AFT for twenty-five copies which she is planning to use as Christmas cards. We would like to suggest that if each member of the Teachers Union would order and mail out ten copies, we would have in the hands of the non-Union teachers 300,000 effective replies to the *Saturday Evening Post* and all other reactionary interests who are today deliberately misinterpreting the AFT to the public.

All copy for the November issue of the magazine must be in our hands by November 1. Hereafter all copy will be due the twenty-seventh of the previous month.

We are planning both a newspaper and a magazine for November and would appreciate as much Local news as possible. The best answer to attacks on the Teachers Union is the story of the work of each Local. While last year we received more news from Locals than ever before, at least half of the Locals never sent in any news. We know that these Locals are active and we hope that they will furnish us material for the AMERICAN TEACHER.

The President's Page

Our Job for the Current Year

AS OUR FEDERATION begins its twenty-fourth year we live in fear of a second world war. The press, the radio, our conversation and our thoughts are filled with the bitter and tragic struggle now unfolding in the Old World. Yet, even though Poland has been destroyed by overwhelming German might, even though Soviet armies have shared in this conquest and even though Britain and France have declared war upon the Third Reich, the issue of war and peace among the great powers is still undecided. The developments in the chancellories of Europe and Asia remain far more important than the events of the battlefield. But if the clash of armies should cease altogether, the resulting condition would scarcely be one of peace. That the present rulers of the world are capable or desirous of laying the foundations of international justice and order seems highly doubtful. We may therefore assume that during the coming year the struggle abroad will continue to cast its dark shadow over our lives.

This struggle, whatever its character or outcome, is freighted with the gravest consequences for our people. The future of our nation is deeply involved in its fortunes. If air power should prove superior to sea power, if the British and French empires should pass into dissolution, if totalitarianism in any form should come to rule the Old World, we would be profoundly affected. Of this there can be no doubt. We might be driven in self-defense to adopt the totalitarian pattern of life and thought—to arm to the teeth, to become thoroughly militarized, to trample upon civil liberties and human rights, to convert a political faction into a holy order, to deify as a leader some man of boundless ambition, some person of narrow and brutish mind. We cannot and we will not remain indifferent. Indeed, already in our hearts we have taken sides in the struggle. It could not be otherwise.

We in the American Federation of Teachers are American citizens. Being jealous of our civic rights we shall, like other citizens, think, feel and act according to the dictates of conscience. Also we are teachers. And as teachers, charged with the heavy responsibility of rearing the young in the ways of democracy, we are under obligation to be sensitive above others to the fate of our hard-won heritage of popular justice and freedom. Finally, we are members of a great fellowship which, being fully and frankly dedicated

to the defense and advancement of democracy, is recruited inevitably from the most progressive ranks of the profession. All of these considerations make certain among us a deep concern over the course of international events.

But there is a danger to the Federation here. We might easily dissipate our energies over the immediate issues of the world struggle. Through absorption in the controversies already raging and of others certain to come, we might find ourselves so hopelessly and bitterly divided that our work in the field of our special responsibility would be rendered ineffective. This responsibility is at least threefold: first, we must defend and improve public education; second, we must keep our minds focussed on the domestic tasks and problems of our democracy; and third, we must strive to keep the "lamps of reason" burning in the world and to prepare for the peace that is to come after the cannon have ceased their firing and the war planes have returned to their hangars.

Our first responsibility is to defend and improve public education. Regardless of wars and rumors of wars, children come into the world and grow to maturity. The welfare of our society requires that these children be not neglected, that they receive the finest care we can give them, that they be prepared as fully as possible to discharge the increasingly arduous duties of citizenship. We must therefore resist with all our power every effort to mutilate the educational budget, every effort to close the doors of the school, to rob children of their cultural birthright, to reduce either the physical or the spiritual stature of our people. With equal determination we must resist every attempt on the part of reactionary or unenlightened forces to close the doors of the school intellectually, to regiment the minds of teachers and children, to introduce the spirit and methods of totalitarianism into American public education. More than that, we must devote ourselves earnestly and without ceasing to the improvement of the curriculum, the methods of instruction and the patterns of administration employed in our schools. We must take with utter seriousness and apply with greatest wisdom our traditional slogan: Democracy in Education—Education for Democracy.

Our second responsibility is to keep our minds focussed on the domestic tasks and problems of our democracy. We know that the rise of dictatorships in

the contemporary world and the overthrow of free institutions are directly traceable to the injustices of the social order, the bitter frustration of individuals and classes, the fears and anxieties generated by widespread insecurity, uncertainty and misery. Certainly a major threat to our democracy today is that the attention of our people will be entirely deflected from the domestic to the international situation, from economic reform at home to the waging of war abroad. If this should actually occur, we would find ourselves at the end of the struggle confronted with the current problems in a more advanced and dangerous stage. No people in the world as yet has mastered the forces and factors released by the advance of science and technology. And no people will be at peace with itself and with others until it has done so. We must endeavor to keep this task perpetually before the minds of our citizens.

Our third responsibility is to guard the great heritage of reason and to prepare for the peace. If the

present war becomes full-blown, it will generate in all probability a spirit of hatred and savagery more intense and uncompromising than that developed in the last war. Yet, if such a spirit should dominate the peace, mankind would be but preparing the way for a yet more terrifying and debasing catastrophe for a later generation. Because of our detachment from the Old World, because of our descent from the various peoples engaged in the conflict, and because of our peculiar identification historically with the liberal and humane tradition of Western Europe, we would seem to be especially fitted to bring both reason and good will to bear upon the problem of shaping the peace. Particularly should we of the Federation strive through our own organs and through all the agencies of public enlightenment in America to prepare the way for a just and generous settlement. If we cannot bring justice into the world, we shall ourselves become either the victims or the agents of injustice.

GEORGE S. COUNTS.

Youth in a Changing World

◆ FLOYD W. REEVES

THE TOPIC, "Youth in a Changing World," would readily lend itself to development along a number of different lines. Since I cannot discuss all of the complex problems that now beset youth, I shall confine myself to certain issues which are related most directly to the increase in the age at which young people are able to enter gainful employment. In discussing these issues, I should like to make it clear that I am presenting my personal views and not speaking either for the President's Advisory Committee on Education or the American Youth Commission, although I shall have occasion to refer to the work of both of these agencies.

The American Youth Commission is actively engaged in formulating a report but has not as yet adopted many recommendations. Part of the purpose of this article is to present issues on which the Commission earnestly desires to secure further enlightenment in order that it may prepare sound recommendations.

Some of these issues were considered by the President's Advisory Committee on Education in its report last year. At that time, however, the Committee was able to deal with the problems only in part. Its recommendations in the field of youth service were largely designed for immediate application during a period of active experimentation with public serv-

ices for youth throughout the country.

In the recent years of general unemployment, it has only slowly come to be realized that there is a special problem of youth unemployment. Unemployed young people are usually not segregated in the general statistics of unemployment. Even after educators, social workers and others in close contact with youth began to suspect that a disproportionate number of young people were unemployed, it was some time before that fact could be proved to the satisfaction of skeptics.

Definite proof was furnished by the 1937 Census of Unemployment. That census happened to be taken almost at the peak of business activity following the worst years of the depression, but it found almost 11,000,000 workers who were wholly unemployed except for emergency work. Of the 11,000,000 almost 4,000,000 were between the ages of fifteen and twenty-four inclusive. The unemployment rate was over 40 per cent for the available workers between fifteen and twenty, although under 20 per cent for every age group above twenty-five. No age group, even that comprising adults over fifty-five, is as difficult to place as the group from fifteen to twenty, according to the records of the United States Employment Service.

This problem of unemployed out-of-school youth has come upon us rather suddenly in recent years.

In a sense, however, it merely parallels a longer development with which we are all familiar. I refer to the great increase in the enrollment of young people in the schools, particularly the high schools.

Many forces have been at work to increase the enrollment of youth in school. Probably the most powerful has been the changing character of the economic life of the nation. The occupations which were and are easiest to enter at an early age, such as farming, have declined in relative importance. An increasing share of all employment is controlled by large industrial and commercial organizations. For many years large industry has become progressively less willing to employ inexperienced young people below the age of eighteen or twenty.



Until about 1930, the trend toward reduced employment of youth in industry was counterbalanced by the enrollment of more youth in the schools. With the drastic reduction in employment which has taken place since 1930, the schools have been compelled to accept several million additional pupils who in previous years would not have continued in school. In spite of these increased enrollments, we have had in addition the piling up of unemployed out-of-school youth which has become so conspicuous.

For convenience in discussing the situation which now prevails, we may distinguish four groups of youth, two of them in school and two out of school.

The first in-school group consists of the youth who appear to be gaining some profit from formal instruction. According to the academic standards which are current, they are succeeding in their school activities.

The second in-school group consists of those for whom the school is performing not much more than a custodial function. These are the youth who lack interest or aptitude for the present program, particularly for the formal instructional activities of the school.

The first out-of-school group consists of the youth who are partially or wholly unemployed, or are employed in the Civilian Conservation Corps, the National Youth Administration, the Works Progress Administration or in other emergency work programs.

The second out-of-school group consists of the youth who have full-time employment or other normal occupations such as homemaking.

The employed youth have many problems and

needs. Some of the jobs are very precarious. The younger employed youth especially are likely to slip back at any time into the unemployed group. Some of the jobs even though full-time do not pay an adult wage, which may be defined for present purposes as a wage high enough to permit self-maintenance, marriage and the establishment of a home away from the parental roof. Almost all of the employed youth need further training if they are to advance. But most of the members of this group of youth have substantially completed the major transition from the dependency of childhood to membership in the working community on an adult basis.

The in-school youth who appear to be profiting from their academic school activities also have many problems and needs. The school program may be much too narrow to give the breadth of training needed under modern conditions. The content of the courses of study, the methods of instruction, the entire curriculum, may be archaic. The provision for school health and recreational services may be inadequate. The services of guidance and counseling are almost certain to be inadequate. But for the time being, the successful in-school youth are being cared for by a going social institution which has been developed over the years primarily for youth of the type who are successful in the academic environment.

The most acute problems are presented by the other two groups, the unsuccessful in-school youth and the unemployed out-of-school youth. On the one hand we have a large group of youth who find the discipline of the school irksome, who are unable or unwilling to benefit significantly from the type of full-time curriculum which is generally prevalent, yet who stay on in the school unless compelled to leave. Every school administrator is familiar with this type of pupil.

On the other hand, we have the even larger group of unemployed youth who have left the school behind them. Possibly in half the cases these youth have withdrawn without having completed even the eighth grade. Some of them have dropped out for purely economic reasons, some because schools, particularly high schools, were not accessible to them, others because they failed to find interest or benefit in the courses of study which were made available to them, and at least a few because they rebelled completely at the whole attitude and atmosphere of the school



as they experienced it in their communities.

Some years ago a committee of the Department of Secondary-School Principals under the chairmanship of Thomas L. Briggs gave extensive consideration to the problem of the youth who stay on in school even though the present type of high school is not well adapted to their needs. The committee had been charged with the preparation of the well-known report entitled "Issues of Secondary Education." The Committee stated:

Of the pupils who have been added to the enrollment since 1930 and of the increasing numbers who are likely to be added in the future, the majority doubtless consist of boys and girls who possess obvious ability to profit by continued schooling. These are the pupils whose earlier elimination was a cause for serious concern. . . . But a very considerable proportion of the new enrollment is comprised of pupils of a different type—boys and girls who are almost mature physically, who are normal mentally in the sense that they are quite capable of holding their own with the ordinary adult, but who are unable or unwilling to deal successfully with continued study under the conditions which even the best secondary schools impose. The fact that many of these pupils would far rather be out of school at work than in school . . . makes their problem the more difficult of solution. . . .

The Committee stressed the desirability of adapting the schools to the pupils. It indicated some doubt as to whether this could be done completely and stated flatly:

The secondary school ought not to be thought of as providing the sole means of education, nor even in every instance the best means of education, for boys and girls who have completed the work of the elementary grades.

The Committee also had in mind the problem of the boys and girls who have not completed even the elementary grades but who are in fact out of school, above the age of compulsory attendance and for practical purposes almost entirely beyond the reach of the school.

In the end the Committee came to this conclusion:

Social changes have brought the United States to a place at which the conservation of youth can no longer be left to random effort or to individual initiative . . . And the fact that the schools cannot undertake the necessary conservation without seriously impairing their educational efficiency leaves no wise course open but to establish some separate organization specially entrusted with the task. . . .

The need of a non-school agency which will assume responsibility for the oversight of adolescents who are not in school is urgent. As soon as such an agency can be



established school authorities should assume responsibility for transferring to its supervision all pupils whose needs are likely to be better served by out-of-school activities than by continued schooling.

Whatever else may be said about this proposal, I submit that it was a statement of major importance coming as it did from a group of educators in the year 1936. The Committee outlined the nature and functions of the new supervisory agency which it had in mind. Although the agency was referred to specifically as a "non-school" agency, it was to be established as a part of the state educational department. The major responsibilities to be assigned to this agency were to supervise the activities of boys and girls who could find ways to occupy themselves and to provide appropriate work for those who could not. The agency was to encourage and stimulate educational interests and on occasion to recommend readmittance to the schools when that seemed desirable. It was, in other words, to be a general social welfare agency for youth, distinct from but supplementary to the school.

About the time the Briggs Committee was completing its report, the American Youth Commission was organized and began its work. It commissioned Professor Harl R. Douglass, then of the University of Minnesota, to prepare recommendations concerning secondary education. His report to the Commission was published in 1937 and has since been widely read.

Professor Douglass also pointed out that it is not certain that we can develop a full-time school program that would interest the type of boy or girl who does not now continue in school beyond the age of sixteen. He stated:

It is questionable if any life made up chiefly of educational activities which does not provide for work experiences can be made to appeal to young people whom nature and social tradition have ripened and made ready for entrance into normal adulthood.

He therefore proposed that instead of seeking universal full-time school attendance to the age of eighteen, we should promote full-time attendance until age sixteen and half-time attendance until twenty or twenty-one.

If this proposal were to be adopted, the question would then arise as to what should be done with the other half of the young persons' time. Professor Douglass made a number of proposals for experimentation but was evidently not completely convinced of the efficacy of any one of them for general adoption. He referred to the non-school work supervisory agency proposed by the Briggs Committee as a subject worthy of further study and endorsed it for trial on a limited and experimental basis. He appeared to be most favorable to a plan of work and study based on the cooperation of private employers with the schools, to the extent that such cooperation could be secured.

The so-called cooperative plan, under which pupils in secondary schools and higher institutions divide their time in equal periods between school and employment is not new. It has been used on a limited scale ever since the pioneering work of the University of Cincinnati many years ago.

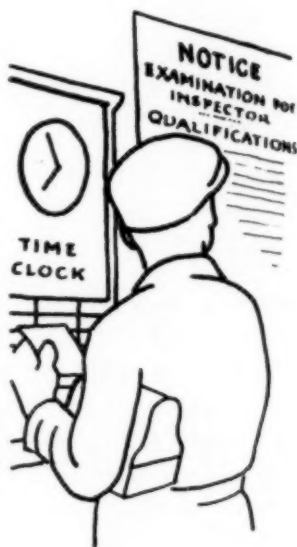
Where competently administered the plan has worked well. Anyone who has first-hand knowledge of the operations of the cooperative plan will agree, I believe, that the student-workers can obtain benefits from it which are exceedingly difficult to provide in any other way.

The transition from full-time school to full-time work is facilitated; the young person arrives at occupational maturity much more rapidly. In many cases there is even a revived interest in formal education because the work experience serves to give vitality to intellectual interests which had not previously been awakened.

The fact remains, however, that the cooperative plan of organization is spreading only slowly. This may be due in part to the inertia of the educational system, but experience suggests that there are definite limitations on the degree to which the cooperative plan can or should be widely adopted.

In most cases employers find it expensive to arrange a special working schedule for the benefit of inexperienced young workers. The result is a tendency to cut below normal wage rates, followed by difficulty in determining a wage rate which may be considered fair under all the circumstances even if all concerned are anxious to act in good faith.

Because of these difficulties, experience has led many to believe that the only safe rule is to insist that the cooperative student-worker be regarded as a normal worker and be paid the normal wage rate for other workers of similar experience. When this is done, and it is done successfully in many instances, employers not unreasonably expect the school to furnish them with selected students, students whose other qualities will compensate in part for their lack of experience and for the difficulty of organizing work for part-time workers. The plan then becomes a device for providing exceptional opportunities for young people who would be better than average employment risks under any plan. It does not provide for the youth with average or poorer than average ability.



The cooperative plan is particularly well adapted to the needs of young people who have completed the eleventh or twelfth grade but who are lacking in maturity from an employment standpoint. In my opinion, the work of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth grades, in other words the junior college and technical institute level, should increasingly be organized and offered on a part-time basis. This would be of great benefit not only to young people who can obtain part-time employment with cooperating employers, but also to many others, especially in rural areas, who can profitably give an increasing amount of their time to the work of the farm and the home without ceasing all attendance at school.

If the work-study plan is a good thing but the cooperation of private employers cannot be secured sufficiently to permit its general extension, and it appears that such is the case, then it becomes necessary to consider the extent to which work may be provided advantageously to youth under public auspices.

The Civilian Conservation Corps was the first important attempt in this country to set up a public agency to provide work especially for young people. At first it was thought of purely as a work program, rather than a work-study program. It soon became evident, however, that the educational needs of the enrollees were very great. It was found that 84 per cent of them had not completed high school, 44 per cent had not completed the elementary grades and many were practically illiterate. All of them were presumably above the age of compulsory school attendance in their respective states. Many had been eliminated or had withdrawn from school some years before their enrollment in the CCC camps. As a whole, the group consisted of young men who were receiving no attention from the public schools at the time of their enrollment. In most cases they were members of families which were receiving some supervision from social-welfare agencies.

In spite of the difficulties of providing an educational program for such a group, the need was so imperative that the Corps was forced to undertake that task. The comprehensive study of the Corps which is now being carried on by the American Youth Commission indicates that the educational program in the camps has made great progress during the five years of its existence. It is apparent, however, that it can and should be improved still further. An experimental program designed to test various possible lines of improvement is now being carried out in a number of the camps through the cooperation of the American Youth Commission and the Corps.

In some ways the Civilian Conservation Corps is a great achievement. It may be desirable that it become either a permanent institution or that its major functions be performed permanently by some

other public agency. There are marked limitations, however, on the extent to which the Civilian Conservation Corps can provide a general solution for the problems of the entire group of young people with which this address is concerned. In the first place, enrollment in the Corps is limited to men. It provides no solution for the young women who make up the other half of the youth group. In the second place, the fact that during the period of enrollment the enrollees are away from their home community means that they necessarily lose contact with employment opportunities as well as with the schools and other social agencies of their home community.

Camps of the CCC type would appear to have value primarily for the accomplishment of work on the public domain and for the rehabilitation of young men who are particularly in need of the type of experience they receive in camp. In my opinion these services justify continuation of the present program. There may be some question, however, as to whether they would justify any great expansion of it.

Partly because of the limitations of the CCC work camps to which I have just referred, a second work program specially designed for young people was inaugurated by the Federal Government toward the end of 1935. I refer to the work projects program of the National Youth Administration. This program of work projects should be clearly distinguished from the program of student aid which has also been provided through the National Youth Administration.

The work projects program is entirely separate from the student-aid program and is operated solely for the benefit of youth who have left the regular schools. The youth who are eligible for employment on the NYA work projects are between the ages of eighteen and twenty-four. Up to the present it has been required that they be certified as in need of relief by a public relief agency.

The work program of the NYA began as a part of the general work relief system and until recently it was closely interlocked with the program of the Works Progress Administration. For the last year it has provided continuously for over 200,000 young people who have been certified as in need of relief. They have worked about 55 hours a month and have been paid about \$17 a month.

Even before the National Youth Administration was established there were, as there still are, many youth in the eighteen to twenty-four age group who were receiving general work relief on the same basis as adults. Why, then, was a separate work relief program established for youth?

The reason was the belief that young people on relief needed special supervision and assistance. It was thought that if they were cared for separately, work projects could be organized which would offer

more valuable work experience and training.

This belief has been borne out in practice. As the National Youth Administration has become more and more familiar with the characteristics and needs of the project workers, additional emphasis has been placed upon supervision and training activities. The innumerable agencies which have cooperated by sponsoring projects in many cases have been led to take a new interest in the sound development of young people. Increasingly it has been possible to stimulate the project youth to return to the schools for educational services and to secure special provision for them by the school authorities.

All of this has been an exceedingly interesting development and one which merits the closest study by all who are interested in the welfare of youth. The program is, however, still frankly experimental. It was started to meet an emergency situation. It has been continued from year to year through Congressional appropriations but without any legislation establishing it on a regular basis. Many of the administrative arrangements which have been necessary to meet circumstances as they arose are probably not of the kind that would be desirable for permanence. Taken as a whole, the program has added greatly to our experience in dealing with the problem of unemployed out-of-school youth, but it is in need of further evaluation and, possibly, of some reconstruction.

I recur to the problem with which I have been mainly concerned throughout this article. What shall we do about the youth who are unsuccessful in school or who have left the school but are not yet able to secure placement in normal employment?

Can we agree that the major need of this group of youth is a program or set of programs which provides both for supervised work experience and for further educational activity during a transitional period between full-time school and full-time employment?

Can we agree that some public agency or agencies must provide a large part of the supervised work experience if we are to have such a program, at least so long as industry continues in its present reluctance to employ youth under the age of twenty?

If a general program of supervised work experience is to be provided for young people under public auspices, what type of public agency shall provide it? Shall it be federal, state, or local? Or shall it be operated on an experimental basis at two, or possibly at all three, of the levels of government? Shall it be regarded primarily as an educational agency, as a social welfare agency or as a new type of agency which does not fit existing functional and professional classifications?

I raise the last question particularly because we all have a marked tendency to think in terms of

professional categories. Unfortunately, the problem I have been discussing is in the field of social welfare at least as much as in the field of education. Just as most social workers are laymen in the field of education, so are most educators laymen in the field of social work. It is as obvious as it is unfortunate that there are deep cleavages of philosophy between the two fields. Until there is greater mutual understanding, all of our efforts to solve the educational and welfare problems of youth will be greatly

handicapped. Notwithstanding conflicts of professional interest and those questions of administrative organization on which it is so easy to disagree, it seems to me imperative that we hold fast to the major problem until we can arrive at a solution. That major problem is the kind of a program that will be most effective in meeting the actual needs of the young people of this country. Surely the problem is large enough to give scope for the best thought and efforts of all of us.

Films for Human Relations

◆ JAMES P. MITCHELL

PROGRESSIVE TEACHERS must be frequently shocked by the amount of acceptance by students of extremely conservative or outright reactionary beliefs, including an emotional resistance to social change. Often this comes from students whose unfairly limited opportunities most clearly demand social change. Union teachers hear students echoing some of the more violently untrue attacks on unionism and know that those same students come from families in desperate need of unions. Where do such attitudes originate? We all know some of the reasons; one that we too often neglect to consider is the regimented classroom. Whether or not the teacher's own intellectual position is liberal, if she orders her classes about she is building authoritarian patterns into their lives. The very manner of the teacher may mean, in its actual effects on students' lives, that orders come from above and that the student's job is to carry them out. The emphasis on accumulation of facts has the actual effect in students' responses of denying the validity and importance of conclusions, generous and warm emotions, action.

Teachers are not to blame for this. They themselves were created by similar methods and have not yet been able to break away toward a freer education. Many, perhaps most of them, are honestly looking for a better approach. There is now available to them a resource which more than any other single tool may loosen the rigid boundaries of the conventional classroom. The tool is the use of the Human Relations films¹ of the

Commission on Human Relations of the Progressive Education Association, which have just been made generally available to schools.

Some of the background of the films needs to be told. The Commission believed that if young people are to function democratically they need an education which will give them help in those problems, personal and social, of most direct concern to them, in the understanding of the real motivating forces of human action, in the developing of better ways of relating themselves to others. It thought that one way of working toward such an education would be the presentation of excerpts from moving pictures showing how people relate themselves humanly (or inhumanly) and after the students have experienced this absorbing and emotionally significant joint experience to have them discuss the issues which the excerpt has raised. Almost all the commercial film studios agreed to cooperate, turning over negatives of their pictures. These were carefully edited for materials of most direct concern to young people, and altogether about sixty shorts, lasting from five to thirty minutes, were made. Teachers from about twenty institutions, ranging in nature from vast metropolitan high schools to a reformatory, were chosen and trained to take part in the experiment to discover how the films should be used. Four times during the two-year experimental period a careful survey of the students' attitudes about human relations was made. Verbatim records of discussions were kept, and the large body of vital information thus collected is now being carefully studied.

A great deal of attention was given to techniques of discussion. In general, the Commission feels that the students should begin very freely, pointing out issues and problems raised by the excerpt which seem most important to them; these are not always what

¹The films can be rented by educational organizations from the Commission on Human Relations of the Progressive Education Association, 45 Rockefeller Plaza, New York City, for sums as low as \$5 for the minimum two-week period. A catalogue, with full information and synopses of the films, is furnished on request to teachers who think there is a good chance of their using the material. Study guides are included with the excerpt and may be purchased separately for 25 cents each.

are expected. Later in the discussion the teacher takes a more active part, not to moralize or tell the students what to think but rather to push the students toward clearer meanings and deeper understanding. How did he get that way? Was the reason that she gave the real one? How could the situation have been handled better? If you had known him at the time what would you have done? Do people like you and me ever act that way? Why? These are typical contributions of a leader. A summary by a student closes a discussion which is not expected to produce conclusive answers to the questions it raises, but rather to illuminate human behavior, leading to further study. It often leads to social action, as when students who discussed a lynching scene from "Fury" circulated a petition in support of anti-lynching legislation, and students who had ascribed the gang life of boys in "The Devil Is A Sissy" to slum conditions participated vigorously in a campaign for a new housing project.

The insights shown by the students are often amazingly keen. In a time when it is vital to understand the factors which make for aggressive, warlike, retaliatory behavior such material as the following becomes especially interesting. Students are discussing "Black Legion":

ANTHONY: There certainly were many examples of propaganda in the movie. There was the salesman trying to sell the car. There was the radio speaker and there was quite a bit of propaganda for education, at least in the situation of Dombrowski . . . and an element that seemed to warn us against propaganda; to at least put us on our guard against it.

ROBERT: I think that there are many other ones, like the idea of joining a band, a group of men, a lot of whom you respected, and that it is a secret group. That tickles your ego, in a way, that you were selected; that you are to be a member of a select group and that you are going to have a uniform and carry a gun and all of these distinguishing features that the other people don't have. Maybe that is a manifestation or development of the ego in ourselves.

LUTHER: It certainly appealed him for the dissatisfaction and shame, more or less, that he had in not getting the job. He was certainly very disappointed. I think that this offered relief to him, and he accepted the propaganda because he was ready to accept it. I don't think that in any other circumstances he would have accepted this propaganda.

JOHN: I don't think all these workers were definitely against the foreigners. You are not against them definitely. It is when they interfere with you and your ends, then, of course, you are against all the foreigners, but otherwise you don't care what kind of a job they have.

LEADER: That is close to Calvin's statement that the reason why the propaganda was so easily accepted was because it coincided with his economic interests, and that the economic interests were the determining factor, really.

ROSAMOND: I think that Frank as an individual is rather interesting because he wasn't prepared for anything like not getting the job. When he was at home, his wife would take his cigarette and knock the ashes off for him, and his little boy could beat up another little boy, and he could sock his little boy, and he was just keen, and there was nothing he couldn't have. He just wasn't psychologically prepared for losing the job.

* * *

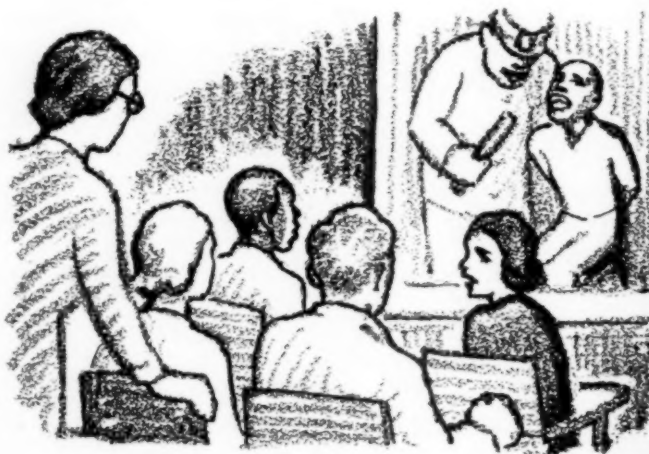
And in another discussion:

RICHARD: . . . He had to recreate his security and everything, and he recreated it by sort of false Americanism, by saying: Well, it is the foreigners. He was sort of saying: It wasn't my fault at all, it was just because they were foreigners.

NORMAN: . . . There was some force that was causing him to be insecure, but he evidently found the wrong cause for his insecurity.

GEORGE: I wonder if he really was sure he would get the job. It seems to me he was telling everybody that he was the best, trying to impress them with the fact, instead of letting them draw their own conclusions. It seemed to me that might be an inward feeling inside of him, an inferiority, and that he wanted to impress upon the people that he was the best.

RICHARD: He wasn't sure he was going to get the job; he wanted continually to reassure himself and put himself on a more secure basis. He had been unemployed previously, and now this advancement—well, I guess he looked at everything more or less in terms of success in the eyes of other people as much as success in his own eyes, and when these people complimented him, when they assured him, it was added security, and that is what he wanted primarily.



And in a discussion of a lynching, an excerpt from "Fury":

ANNE: When people are that excited they think in very simple terms, that one thing is right and one thing is wrong, and everything is brought down to the elemental facts. They just figured that, well, someone had been kidnapped, and here was someone who seems to have done it, and there were no other factors coming in except that he should be punished.

ROSAMOND: I think that everybody saying it is a natural trait, it is just human nature, is just rationalizing. You can get to the problem, I think, not by speeding of trials and getting better courts, and things like that, but merely by the slow process of education. People have to become educated to all these things.

Especially important is the fact that in film dis-

cussions teachers *cannot*, without nullifying all the values of the project, be dictatorial. They must merely be useful to students in deepening their understandings. They must have the profoundest respect for and receptivity to what everyone in the group says and is. They must help find fruitful avenues for social action for which powerful emotional drives have been set in motion. Thus the discussion becomes the practice of democracy in the classroom. It should lead to an extension of democracy into all other school activities, and even to the cooperative, democratic planning by students and teachers of the whole curriculum. Students who have lived through a school which practices democracy instead of praising it cannot be conditioned to an acceptance of fascism or unmoving conservatism, because they have found that democracy is too enjoyable to be surrendered.

The Meaning of Civil Liberty

◆ FRANK MURPHY

ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-ONE YEARS ago, a group of American citizens, meeting in the colonial community of Concord, N. H., voted by 57 to 47 to ratify the Federal Constitution which had been written at Philadelphia one year before.

We do not formally celebrate the day, but it was an event of tremendous significance. It meant that the required majority of nine states had ratified and that the Constitution was in full legal effect. It meant that the American people had cast their lot together under the guidance of a document that Gladstone once described as the most remarkable political work produced by the human intellect in modern times.

That document—our Federal Constitution—is remarkable in many ways. But there is one thing, above all, that makes it remarkable—one quality on which all the others depend—and that is the singular emphasis it places on personal liberty.

In the very first sentence we read that the American people established the Constitution to secure, among other things, "the blessings of liberty" to themselves and their posterity. And the history books tell us that they were so very concerned about their liberties that many of the states refused flatly to ratify the Constitution unless they were assured that a bill of rights would be added. When that assurance was given they ratified, but not before.

Obviously, the Bill of Rights was not an accident. It was not the product of a whim or a passing fancy.

The people were in deadly earnest about it. They had shed blood and suffered hardship to gain liberty and they were determined to give it the best protection they could devise.

And so, when it came to the job of framing the Bill of Rights, they did not mince words. They did not hedge it around with restrictions or weaken it with qualifications and conditions. They said in plain English:

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for redress of grievances."

In virtually every one of the forty-eight state constitutions we find the same bold guarantees of civil and religious liberty, expressed in the same blunt language. The Constitution of New Jersey, for example, declares with beautiful simplicity, "No law shall be passed to restrain or abridge the liberty of speech or of the press."

Just a few days ago the Supreme Court declared that the federal courts would protect the fundamental rights of the individual from encroachment not only on the part of the Federal Government, but on the part of the state and local governments as well. In his opinion, Mr. Justice Stone reminded us again how much the Bill of Rights means to our democracy. "No more grave and important issue," he said, "can be brought to this Court than that of freedom of speech

and assembly."

Why is this so? Why this remarkable emphasis on freedom of speech and assembly and religion?

Because the wise men who wrote the federal Bill of Rights and the New Jersey Bill of Rights were doing more than stating legal prohibitions on the legislature. They were expressing a philosophy of human living. They were defining the spirit of a free and sovereign people. They were putting into words the meaning of democracy itself.

They were determined to put an end in this country to the kind of government that tells the individual he may not speak as he pleases; that tells the newspapers what they may or may not print; that denies the citizen the right to practice whatever religion his conscience chooses; and that, in general, treats the individual as the servant of an all-powerful state.

They were so bent on ending that kind of government that they started a revolution and never gave it up until their objective was won.

We could destroy all their work if we wanted to do it. We could uproot this whole democratic structure overnight simply by going back to the ancient notion that government knows what is best for the people and that the people must not question the wisdom of what the government does for them or to them or with them.

But *if* we did that, we would be striking a heavier blow at civilization than it has ever suffered in the history of mankind.

What, after all, is civilization? Is it our great skyscrapers and our long bridges? Is it our huge factories and marvelous automobiles? Is it the radio and the airplane and all the rest of the wonderful inventions that make life easier and smoother and faster?

Those things are part of it of course—an important part of it. But they aren't *all* of it.

The heart of civilization, the thing that gives it a soul, is exactly that spirit of freedom that runs all through our Bill of Rights. It is the idea that the individual has a natural right to be free up to that point where he injures the interests of the people as a whole.

Take that idea away from our government, or build a government without it, and you have a government that is something less than civilized.

It may seem that I have constructed a straw man so that I might have the satisfaction of pushing it down. It may seem pointless to talk about the Bill of Rights when obviously the overwhelming majority of our people believe the Bill of Rights is a good thing and want it kept in our Constitution.

I wish that the problem were as simple as that, but it isn't.

It is one thing to believe in civil liberty and another thing to practice it in all the daily relationships of man to man. And I am afraid the facts are that some of us have been for civil liberty *in theory* but not very careful about practicing it in our daily lives.

Some of us, under the tension of political and economic conflicts, have let ourselves forget that civil liberty is not just for those with whom we agree but also for those whose ideas are hateful to us. We have forgotten that civil liberty is not just a problem for the federal and state governments, but something that must be protected first of all by every individual citizen. The Federal Government, for example, cannot effectively protect the civil liberty of the individual unless public-spirited citizens in every community have the courage to come forward and cooperate with the Federal Government in seeing that the rights of the humblest and most unpopular minority are scrupulously protected.

Because some of us have at times forgotten these things, we have condoned infractions of the Bill of Rights that Thomas Jefferson and Patrick Henry and Benjamin Franklin would never have condoned.

What is the evidence? It comes to us in the Department of Justice every day in a steady stream. Every day the newly created Civil Liberties Unit reads the tragic story in letters and telegrams from all parts of the country.

We hear of municipal officials aiding in the provocation of race conflict, even though government in a democracy is intended to be for all and not just some of the people.

We hear of arbitrary ordinances and arbitrary police action that deny workmen the right of peaceful picketing, even though our courts have recognized that peaceful picketing is a just and proper right of working people.

We hear of local authorities and private citizens manhandling union organizers, even though the Supreme Court long ago recognized that it is proper and desirable for labor to unite in organizations.

We hear of groups arbitrarily denied the right to distribute literature, even though the Bill of Rights leaves no doubt that freedom of speech and of the press are fundamental to our political system.

But there is no need to go to the Department of Justice for proof. The citizen who looks carefully can see it all around him, near at hand. He can see it in the type of mind that believes labor or industry, as the case may be, ought to be punished for its sins by terrorism and coercion; in that distorted mentality that blames the Jew for all our troubles; and in the discrimination practiced against those who happened to be born with a darker skin than most people possess.

What are these tendencies and practices, after all, but forms of intolerance? And what is there more completely opposed to the Bill of Rights and to all our American traditions than intolerance? It is the most un-American, unconstitutional, un-Christian, and undemocratic thing in our life today.

There is no room for intolerance in the America that our fathers planned. It belongs in those other



countries where freedom has been all but forgotten and where human slavery is the common lot. It belongs in those other lands where men hardly dare to whisper their thoughts and where they hold their meetings by stealth under cover of the night. It belongs in those places on earth where fine literature and art and music have been destroyed and where the schools spread propaganda for those in power.

Intolerance has no place here, and those who embrace it are following not the fathers but someone else. They are not following Jefferson, for it was he who sponsored the Bill of Rights. They are not following Benjamin Franklin, for it was Franklin who deliberately wrote into the Declaration of Independence the phrase "one people." Such individuals forget that America became great because it was created and has remained spiritually one people.

Go down in the subway of the great metropolis, walk the crowded streets and the market places, stand near the factory gates at closing time, and what do you see? Not Englishmen or Italians alone, or Gentiles or Jews alone, or white people or black alone, or conservatives or progressives alone. You see the children of every race and every nation and every creed under the sun. You see America's future.

If you are disheartened by what you see, if these people of other races and national origins seem alien to you, then America's future and your own will not be happy. But if you see them all as being of the stock that built this great nation from a wilderness, if you look at them as fellow servants of democracy, then

our future is bright and full of hope.

America is not 100 per cent Puritan or 100 per cent Cavalier. America is an amalgam of men and women of different kin with a common passion for liberty and tolerance. And with them all rests the future of American democracy.

In many ways, the period we live in is like the period that followed the Civil War. There has been no Gettysburg or Bull Run, but, in the manner of war, the depression has inflicted wounds and brought hardship to many. Today, as in 1865, the nation faces a tremendous job of reconstruction.

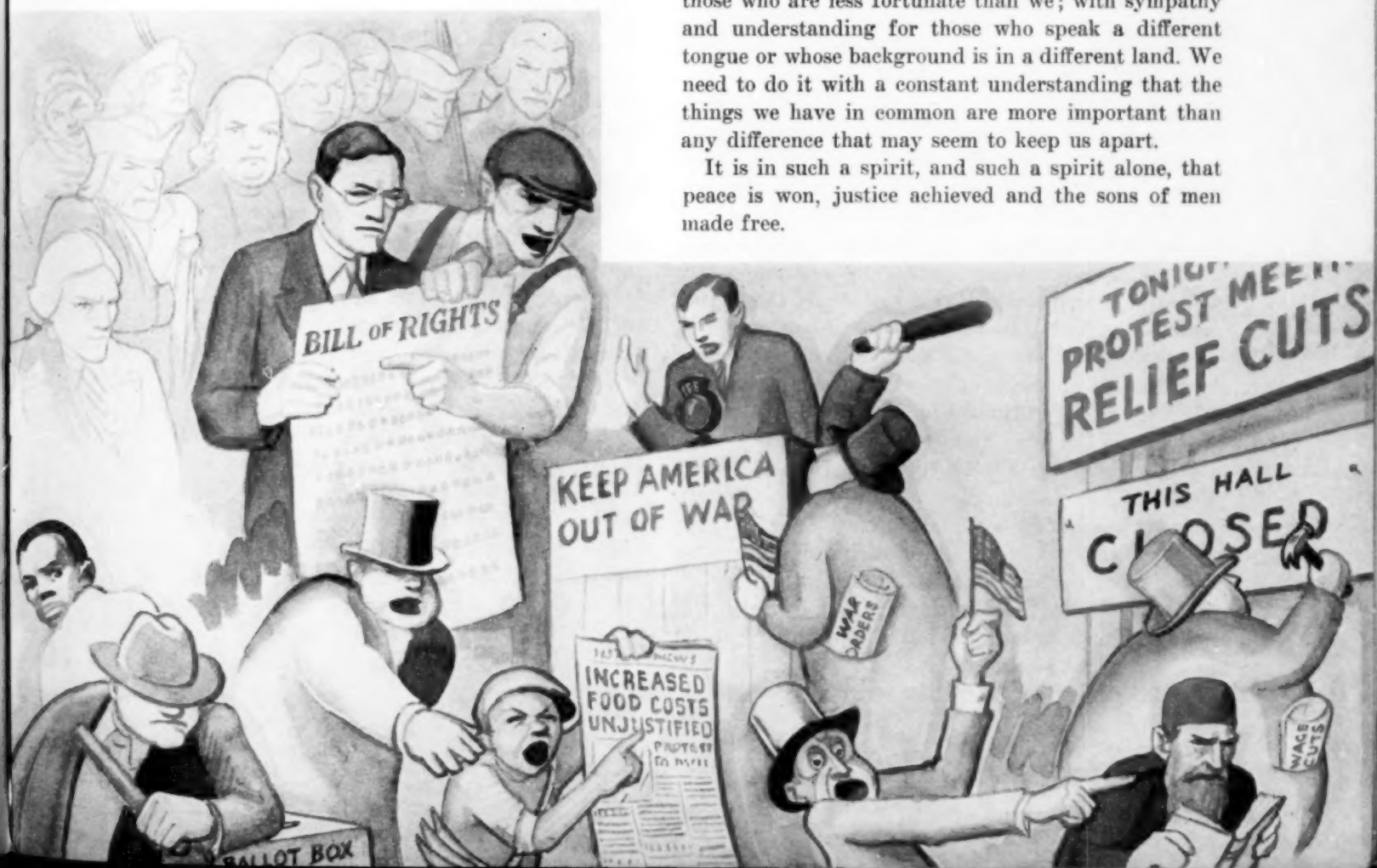
We need to place the economic system in such order that men may have the chance to work and to earn a living wage. We need to find ways to bring health and decent shelter to those who lack them. We must take care that the aged are adequately insured against want and the worker against unemployment.

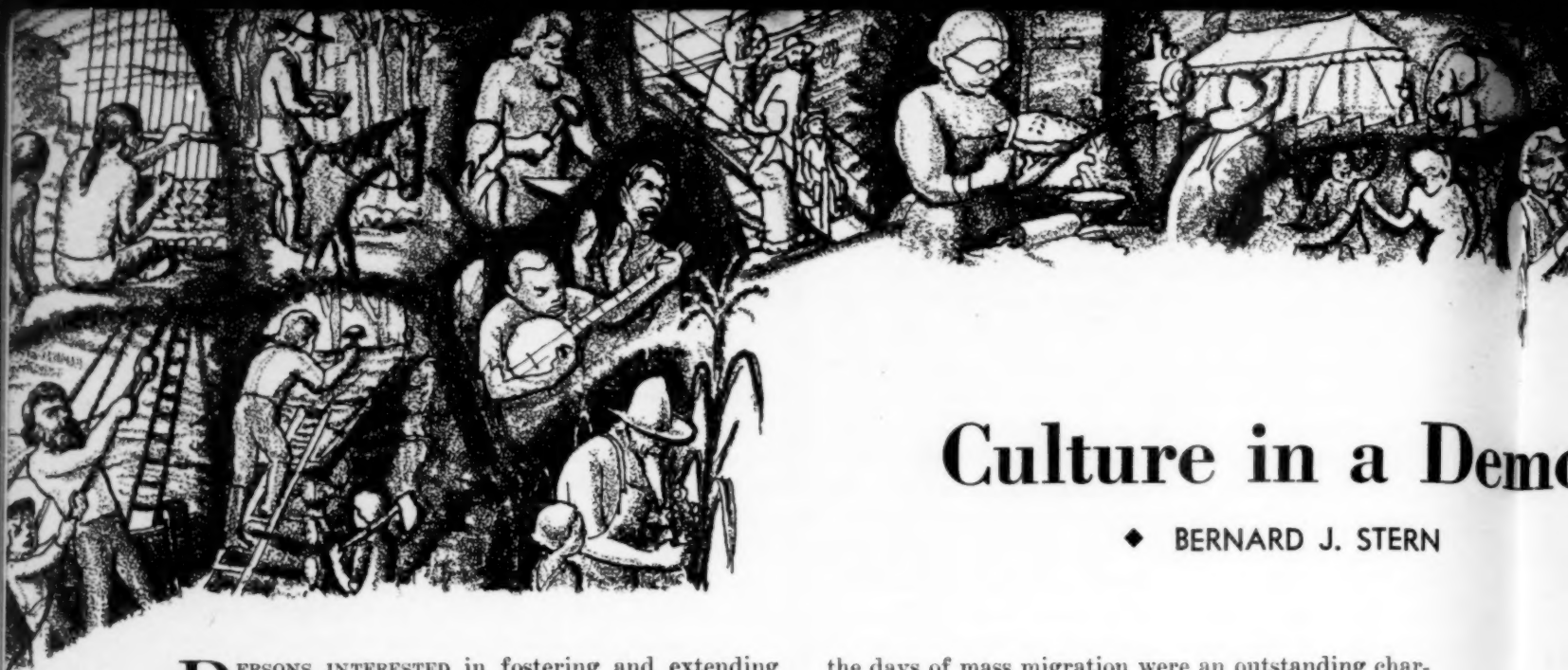
We must protect the quality of government service by weeding out the incompetent and protect its integrity by eliminating those who violate their public trust. We must cut the alliances between politics and corruption wherever they exist.

Just as it was with Lincoln in 1865, we need "to bind up the nation's wounds"; to care for those who have borne the modern battle; "to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace."

And now, as never before, we need to do our work, as Lincoln advised, "with malice toward none, with charity for all." We need to do it with tolerance for those with whom we disagree; with compassion for those who are less fortunate than we; with sympathy and understanding for those who speak a different tongue or whose background is in a different land. We need to do it with a constant understanding that the things we have in common are more important than any difference that may seem to keep us apart.

It is in such a spirit, and such a spirit alone, that peace is won, justice achieved and the sons of men made free.





Culture in a Democracy

◆ BERNARD J. STERN

PERSONS INTERESTED in fostering and extending culture in a democracy have firm faith in the inherent worth and dignity of personality and in the responsiveness of the human organism to the educative process. In contrast to the ideology of fascism, believers in democracy deny that creative participation in culture must or should be confined to a small elite of leaders assumed to be biologically superior, while the rest of the population must passively accommodate itself to the cultural imperatives which these leaders dictate. Democratic philosophy postulates vast untapped potentialities of the common people, irrespective of their social origin, race, class or sex, and it contends that these potentialities will be manifested when environmental opportunities permit their fulfillment. The limits of man's functioning in an expanding cumulative culture have not been remotely approximated, and as science develops and is applied, man's constructive energies will be increasingly released. It is our function as educators to join with the forces that are enlarging the range of opportunities for the masses, not merely to encourage their efforts to develop new forms of cultural expression, but to make present culture available to the many in our land who are denied its benefits. This implies that we must enlist in the struggles against poverty and exploitation which harass and dwarf the human personality, and that we strive for the extension of security and well being, the absence of which prevents vast sections of our population from significant participation in our cultural life.

We are a country of many diverse national groups. Our present everchanging culture pattern is a composite of the contributions of these many peoples. Standardization into a mould of the values of a single dominant culture is to neglect significant values of the minority cultures. Coercive discrimination against these cultures by the fostering of insulating chauvinistic prejudices is contrary to theory and detrimental to the interests of democracy. The distinctive transplanted cultures of the ethnic communities, which in

the days of mass migration were an outstanding characteristic of the cultural life of America, are losing their identity in the face of the disintegrating forces of an urban industrial civilization such as ours. Their direct and indirect influences in the larger pattern of American culture are, however, still potentially strong and must be taken into account in charting the development of American culture.

A democratic culture is likely to be less formalized than that of a caste society. The active participation of a larger number of people contributes elements of spontaneity and originality and serves to resist conventionalization. To encourage this dynamic quality, educational institutions must guard against the strong tendency to sanction traditional cultural values at the expense of creative emergent elements in contemporary culture. Past cultural values must be transmitted to give valuable perspectives; they must not be set forth as final goals.

It is easy to underestimate the influence which our schools have in establishing the attitudes and biases toward developments within our culture. The curriculum appears for the most part so remote from contemporary life, so formal and traditional, that critics are apt to think that it does not define accents on life. Yet by the very evasion of fundamental problems, by the failure to grapple with the realities of the contemporary situation, the schools develop negativistic, irrational and fictitious attitudes that have to be recast during the adult quest for a fuller and richer life. It is questionable whether our schools now perform satisfactorily even the teaching of formal literacy, let alone the awakening of an alert understanding of the social significance of science and technology, of a knowledge of the economic and political forces which mould our lives and of an appreciation of literature, art and music. Our objectives should be to have the schools develop as far as possible integrated cultural personalities capable of coping not only with difficult economic stresses and intellectual

Democratic Society

and emotional currents that surge around us, but also of contributing creatively to the advance of culture.

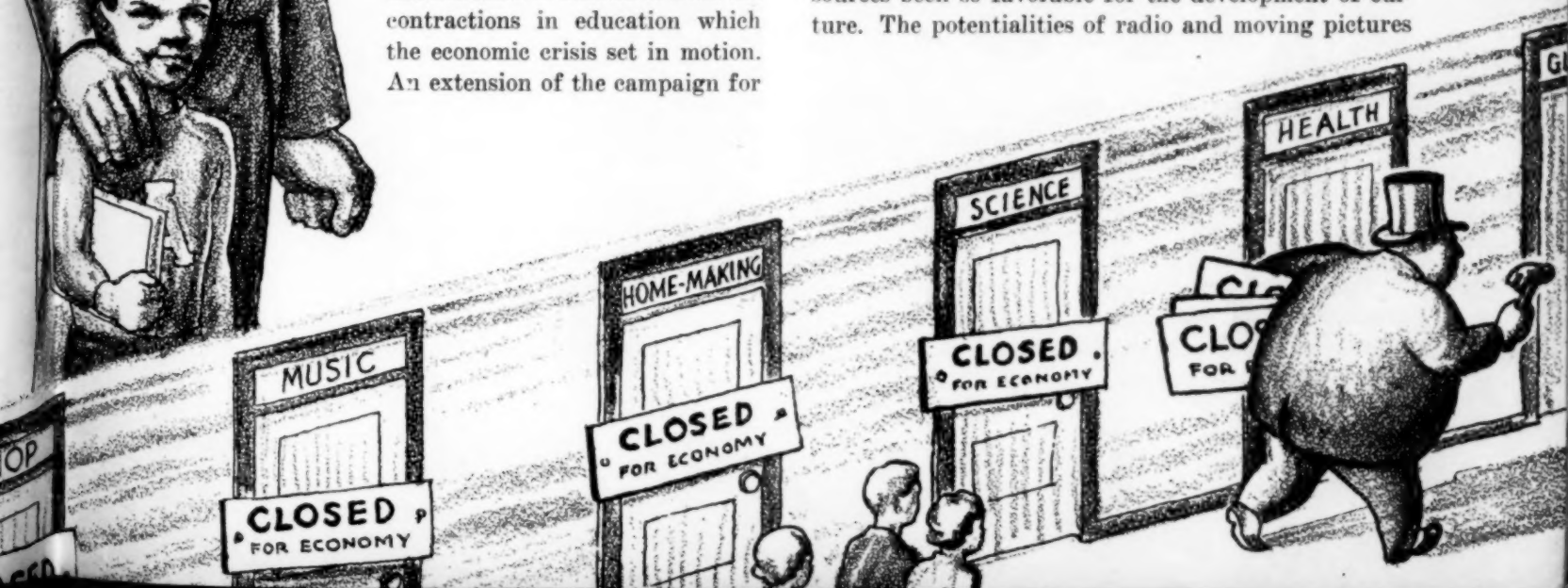
The proponents of the view that our educational institutions should take increasing responsibility for developing cultural maturity in our populace by direct

introduction of cultural subjects in the curriculum of the schools from the elementary grades onward find themselves blocked on all sides by vested interest groups some of whom mistakenly believe that mass ignorance is to their economic advantage. These groups speak of cultural subjects as "frills" and would, under the guise of economy, strip the curriculum to what they regard as bare essentials for literacy. We cannot ignore the strength of this trend, nor fail to appreciate the threat which it involves to the development of culture in our democracy. The labor movement of which organized teachers are a vital part has countered this retrogressive step by supporting federal aid to the states for the maintenance of schools to stem the contractions in education which the economic crisis set in motion. An extension of the campaign for

the passage of such a bill is one of the most important immediate tasks for those interested in cultural progress. The cultural life of America cannot be adequately sustained and advanced by those who measure education in terms of the tax rate.

It is these same vested interests that have consistently opposed federal projects that have meant much to the cultural life of America. By extending the mass base of the arts by the creation of new audiences, through offerings at prices within the range of workers, the federal theatre has stimulated a renaissance of the theatre of America. The federal art project has sustained artists, whose work under their auspices ranks with the great creative art of history. The federal writers project has documented the cultural history of America in a manner which will serve as a point of departure for a better appreciation of our cultural values and has also made possible creative writing that has enriched our sensitivities. The WPA teachers have also done meritorious work, especially in the important and relatively neglected field of adult education. These federal projects have in fact provided the soil for the budding of a richer American culture that will flower only if it continues to be nourished by the Federal Government. The bud is still too frail to flourish in the bare soil of the tradition of capitalist industrialism which has regarded art as extraneous to the good life defined instead in terms of acquisition of material wealth. It is imperative that we who are interested in the development of culture in a democracy extend our help to establish a permanent federal arts bureau which will stimulate further creative expression among those who would otherwise be deprived of such opportunities.

At no previous period of history have technical resources been so favorable for the development of culture. The potentialities of radio and moving pictures



are only beginning to be realized. Democratic pressures have led to the loosening of the stranglehold that the profit system has had upon their use, and their cultural possibilities for children as well as for adults are being explored. The success of such programs as "Americans All, Immigrants All" and "Frontiers of Democracy" indicate that radio might soon be widely used in ways which cannot fail to be fruitful for American culture. Likewise such projects as the preparation for schools of films dealing with human relations by the Commission on Human Relations of the Progressive Education Association, which utilize salient portions of significant commercial films, is a pioneer effort which opens up vast possibilities for use of the film as an effective cultural agency. The present has the advantage over the past not merely in

the availability of these and other technical media; urban industrial society by its very nature is conducive to cultural advance.

Yet within this society forces hostile to democracy make every effort to frustrate its advance by the utilization of concentrated wealth and technical resources, against the economic and cultural interests of the people. Workers and intellectuals organized into trade unions play a leading role in preserving and extending culture among the people.

Trade unions were initially responsible for the establishment of the public schools and for universal compulsory education in the United States, the very foundation of the cultural life of a democracy. Their cultural tasks are not yet ended; in fact they have barely begun.

Schools for Tomorrow's Children

◆ HOWARD A. LANE

TO TEACHERS it is a staggering fact that the people of the Western World have been in no greater mess than in this generation, the first to be almost universally schooled. We in America may for the moment complacently interpret the European scene, but our own careful observers are completely aware of the social disintegration among us. We have only to look at our prisons filled to overflowing, our long waiting lists of those needing institutional treatment for mental ills, at the ten years during which we have been so stupid as to do without the labor and ingenuity of at least twenty million of our people who are eager to carry their own weight in society through useful work, at our almost complete failure to harness the zeal, energy and intelligence of our youth and our women, at our common quality of living far below our potential standards of comfort and enjoyment, at our typical leisure-time activities serving much the purposes which the fleas served Mark Twain's dog—they kept his mind off the fact that he was a dog.

Social institutions are made up of individuals. It is inconceivable that we can have *good people* making up *bad institutions*. Among the greater truths of human living is one emphasized by Jesus. Institutions are made for man, not man for institutions. When social stresses come, when men are ill-served by their social arrangements, we must examine those arrangements or institutions and the men they serve, searching for guides to change; else the people perish.

Bad people do not come from good schools. The

American elementary school cannot escape the acceptance of a sizable portion of responsibility for the breakdown in human character which has put Western civilization in a tail-spin. Long have we known that human characteristics, particularly in the realms of disposition, sympathy and concept of one's self, are established in the early years of life. The only valid test of an educational program is to evaluate the behavior of the pupil both presently and when he has gone forth from the direction of those responsible for that program. For more than two generations the school has accepted responsibility to shape character and personality—and it has continued to ignore its product.

Of late we have learned much about the influences that shape human characteristics. It seems wise that teachers who accept some responsibility for the maintenance and improvement of society shall take inventory from time to time on the maintenance of the good life for children. This is an obligation from the point of view of good social ethics as well as from that of good teaching. Let us examine those important principles of human development upon which a hopeful program of public education must be based.

It is not natural to be human. Distinctively human characteristics are acquired through social living. Those rare reported cases of recovered human offspring who seemed to have been lost from human association for several years at an early age indicate clearly the impossibility of making them human. It

(Continued on page 20)

Children in a Democracy

IN PROVIDING FOR the health and education of children, for the formation of their minds and characters in ways which are in harmony with the institutions of a free society, democracy is training its future leaders. The safety of democracy therefore depends upon the widespread diffusion of opportunities for developing those qualities of mind and character which are essential to leadership in our modern age. Further, democracy is concerned not only with preparation for leadership, but also with preparation for the discharge of the duties of citizenship in the determination of general policies and the selection of those persons who are to be entrusted with special duties. Beyond this, democracy must inculcate in its children capacities for living and assure opportunities for the fulfillment of those capacities. The success of democratic institutions is measured, not by extent of territory, financial power, machines or armaments, but by the desires, the hopes and the deep-lying satisfactions of the individual men, women and children who make up its citizenship.

We shall be concerned with ways in which the broad chasm between knowing and doing may be bridged over. We shall be reminding ourselves that all the lectures on nutrition will avail nothing unless there is food for a child to eat; that a law for compulsory school attendance is one thing and a chance to go to school is another. Prenatal instruction cannot assure healthy babies unless the mother has access to good medical and nursing care when the time for the baby's arrival is at hand. We know how to budget a family's expenditures; we have undertaken to preserve home life for fatherless or motherless children through the joint effort of the Federal Government and the states. We have made great progress in the application of money and service to the promotion of maternal and child health; the restoration of crippled children to normal physical condition; the protection of neglected children and children in danger of becoming delinquent, especially in rural areas; and the elimination of child labor from industries shipping goods in interstate commerce.

Yet, after all has been said, only a beginning has been made in affording security to children. In many parts of the country we have not provided enough to meet the minimum needs of dependent children for food, shelter and clothing,

and the Federal Government's contribution toward their care is less generous than its contribution to the care of the aged.

If we can state in simple language some of the basic necessities of childhood, we shall see more clearly the issues which challenge our intelligence.

We make the assumption that a happy child should live in a home where he will find warmth and food and affection; that his parents will take care of him should he fall ill; that at school he will find the teachers and tools needed for an education; that when he grows up there will be a job for him and that he will some day establish his own home.

As we consider these essentials of a happy childhood our hearts are heavy with the knowledge that there are many children who cannot make these assumptions.

We are concerned about the children of the unemployed.

We are concerned about other children who are without adequate shelter or food or clothing because of the poverty of their parents.

We are concerned about the children of migratory families who have no settled place of abode or normal community relationships.

We are concerned about the children of minority groups in our population who, confronted with discrimination and prejudice, must find it difficult to believe in the just ordering of life or the ability of the adults in their world to deal with life's problems.

We are concerned about the children living beyond the reach of medical service or lacking it because their parents cannot pay for it.

We are concerned about the children who are not in school or who attend schools poorly equipped to meet their needs.

We are concerned about the children who are outside the reach of religious influences, and are denied help in attaining faith in an ordered universe and in the fatherhood of God.

We are concerned about the future of our democracy when children cannot make the assumptions that mean security and happiness.

This Conference and the activities which it initiates furnish an opportunity for us to test ourselves and our institutions by the extent to which they serve our children.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

is a commonplace that the developing human acquires the language, mannerisms, attitudes, ideals, values, even the posture that predominate in the group with which he lives. Schools have given scant attention to this fact. It follows upon the acceptance of this principle that the school must know what kind of living fosters the development of desirable social characteristics and arrange its living conditions in those terms.

Studies of the Child Welfare Station of the University of Iowa offer convincing evidence that the human characteristics we have included under a concept of intelligence are closely related to the quality of social living of the child. Dewey has long insisted, as did Jesus, that Man's mind is a social product. The Iowa studies show that the I. Q. is markedly affected by environmental pull. Children who spend their early years—age two to five—in nursery school are 20 per cent brighter than those who live normal lives until age five.

The illegitimate offspring of dull women have I. Q.'s similar to those of the natural children of the neighborhoods in which they grow in foster homes. Chil-

dren transferred from homes or orphanages to institutions for feeble-minded lose in I. Q.; conversely, those placed from institutions into homes gained in I. Q. Children who live in a rich and stimulating environment increase in rate of mental growth.

No greater tragedy has befallen American education than the widespread acceptance of the superstition that the rate and extent of mental growth is fixed. Long have teachers preferred to teach in good neighborhoods because children are brighter there. For years we have known that our racial incompetents come from poor neighborhoods, city and urban. A generation has known that we secure higher mental averages among city children than among rural children, that Northern children are superior to Southern children, white ones superior to blacks in mental-test results. Men of science have rationalized these differences as a result of differences in native capacity which perform economic selection rather than as a cause of differences in effective intelligence. A realistic society, even if composed of selfish men, will face the fact that human intelligence is a product of man's social life. This is not to deny the existence of actual, though slightly understood, differences in the capacity to become intelligent. However it seems quite likely that even this capacity to become intelligent is influenced by the experiences of the developing human being.

Data of the National Resources Commission disclose the marked relationship in the counties of the United States between the number of children and meager income, low standard of living, scant cultural opportunities. In our city schools children from good homes have better teachers, smaller classes, larger playgrounds, newer and better buildings, more books, more real child activity than those from poor homes. If discrimination must be made wouldn't a good or selfish society make up for home cultural deficiencies through schools? If we assume that good human characteristics result from good child life we must provide the good life for our children—and the school seems to be the proper institution through which to exercise this function.

While the students of child development engage in heated discussions over details and perhaps a few basic meanings of their data, they seem to agree fundamentally upon the essentials of the good life for children. Let us examine these and discuss school practice in their light.

Language is the means of social and intellectual development. Minds develop upon the interpretation of experience through language. Some one to listen, to answer questions, to explain is required by all of us. Rarely do we see elsewhere such alterations of personality as in deaf children who learn to communicate.

Every human requires affection, the active concern of another or others who care how he gets along.

THE AMERICAN TEACHER



Whether or not this is a native urge concerns us little. No person of sound mind is unconcerned about the affection of others. Closely allied to this need is that of the respect and appreciation of one's associates. Some would call it group status. Respect for the self is probably the integrating force in human life. Man has scant endurance for his own scorn.

Man directs his acts toward purposes that he has planned and accepted. He must behave as an agent in determining his behavior. His endeavor must be directed toward the fulfillment of purposes he has accepted as worthy of pursuit. He must be free to experiment and evaluate and to learn through the exercise of freedom to seek social cooperation, the counsel of wiser men, to anticipate the consequences of his behavior.

To grow well, the developing human requires appropriate experience. He develops his ability only as he experiences in a real world. A major type of experience is that which we call creative. Men have attributed to God great satisfaction as he looked upon his creation and found it good. We never outgrow the need to fashion, process, manipulate materials and conditions and hold our handiwork in our own hands and ask no man, "Is it good?"

How are these needs—the conditions which foster the development of good characteristics—served in American elementary schools?

I have the impression that teachers are more affectionate than they used to be. Teachers seem little aware, however, that by the time school age is reached many children feel the security of parental affection slipping away. The home fight has begun over manners, cleanliness, orderliness, music lessons. A baby is helpless, easy to love. As children assume adult posture and language, parental affection for the child "as he is" seems to slip away. Pressure to behave as an adult is his hourly lot. The school, too, fights children—presses them to change. The dull, the dirty, the peculiar of speech, are treated as if unloved. Every normal person will find others to love him. I am convinced that the vast portion of our criminals and ne'er-do-wells are recruited from that vast horde of school children driven by "respectable" people to seek esteem and respect from undesirable persons. A few years ago I interviewed personally most of the boys in the Illinois training school for delinquents. Not one had known well the confidence and respect of a good adult. Few recalled the names of school teachers two or more years removed; none had experienced a man-to-man conversation with his principal. Birds of a feather flock together because they respect each other for being as they are.

Everyone must think well of himself. Schools must cease to make levels of social behavior and human skills the avenues to respectability. School marks, remedial classes, ability grouping and other forms of



comparison cause the child to seek respect through extravagant devices. The dull are most often problems to the school simply because they cannot secure self-respect through channels the school deliberately maintains. Good schools do not compare children on the basis of characteristics desirable for all children. A child's satisfaction, group status, self esteem must never be dependent upon the quality of his speaking, reading, writing, calculating. Who can be so slow as not to comprehend the results of telling a child he reads poorly when he is doing as well as he can. Few fat men have great drives to be sprinters.

Long have we known that experience is the best teacher. For half a century we have been looking at adult life to learn what children are likely to do in the future and using our findings as a guide to determining child experience in school. They must read to be good citizens; therefore, we have the children read. They must calculate; hence we make them figure. They must write; we place a pencil in their hands, demanding a product. How many teachers behave as

if they knew that the important aspect of experience is feeling. My eight-year-old daughter wishes she didn't have to "do that old arithmetic." What is she learning? We have blithely continued participation in experience regardless of resulting attitudes of aversion, exhibitionism, incompetency, anxiety toward man's best of information and skills. Man assumes the dominant tools of his culture if they actually function in his living.

Man's greatest achievement, perhaps the humanizing factor in his development, has been planned sharing of labor—seeking greater individual satisfaction through group enterprise. Participation in the planning of group enterprise is absolutely essential to the developing human. To what extent is this done in schools? To raise the question is to answer it for readers of this journal. We drive our children into gangs of many kinds seeking group significance often at times and ways incompatible with their well-being. Administratively managed school councils seem not to meet this need. The child needs to spend a major part of his time pursuing worthwhile social purposes which result from his developing concepts of social responsibility and his planning to carry out his role.

Creative experience is as yet slightly known in schools. Burnham's formula for mental health—"a task, a plan, and freedom"—seems fundamental. We can't teach creativeness, but we can cherish it, provide it with opportunity to flourish. A genuine creative experience requires no extraneous motivation. Teachers may accept this as a rule: the extent of force, of demand or motivation, required to promote a learning activity is the extent of its inappropriateness.

Schools typically make life less good for the dull than for the bright. Drill on the fundamentals are their lot; the bright are freed from meaningless drill. The three R's are skills, not ends. They are learned through serving ends, not before ends are sought. Homogeneous ability grouping is really economic grouping in our schools—a condition few good Americans would approve.

Why do teachers rather commonly deplore a concept

of economic aristocracy and worship in the cult of intellectual aristocracy? Teachers everywhere exhibit full acceptance of intellectual superiority as a valid claim to social advantage. Has this conception any ethical basis?

Current findings in child development point to marked changes in elementary education. Teachers concerned with desirable social changes will conceive society as composed of individuals and their institutional habits.

The writer would point to some changes in elementary-school practice clearly indicated by the results of competent investigation among children. The close grading system will pass away. We are tremendously restricting experience through having children live in like age groups. Wider age ranges would de-emphasize narrow skills and allow opportunity for more genuine experiences in group concern. School experience will be more childlike. The three R's, which will be de-emphasized and thus better learned, will give way to worthwhile child enterprise. The school will be the real cultural center of the neighborhood, maintaining the best possible cultural facilities and way of living.

Schools will need the admonition, "Judge not that Ye be not Judged." Evaluation will be directed toward the worthiness of the school rather than at children as responsible free agents.

School groups will be democratic social groups seeking immediate individual satisfaction through group enterprise.

School buildings will be smaller, less formalized—the best possible places for children to spend the day.

Leadership will displace discipline as the device of group control. The school will promote activities which make a real difference to its participants and its supporting neighborhood. It will be the collective parent providing facilities and opportunities which individual homes cannot provide.

The school of the future will be staffed by personnel who know what life is for, to whom children give confidence and interest, who really care how children feel.

Letters to the Editor

Please Limit Your Letters to 500 Words

SIR: The present emergency session of Congress, meeting at a time of world crisis, faces grave responsibilities. In preparing to accept my share of those responsibilities, my thoughts naturally turn to my former colleagues in the teaching profession. What are their duties, as teachers and citizens? What will the decisions of this Congress mean to them, and how can they help to influence those decisions?

Teachers, I know, share the desire of the overwhelming majority of Americans that there shall be no "blackout of peace"

in America. They can and must help their students and the parents of their students to sift the chaff of propaganda from the grain of real issues.

Teachers are workers, consumers and trade unionists. Price increases resulting from war-profiteering will lower their own living standards, as well as those of all members of their communities. Attacks on the rights of labor and the trade-union movement, carried on behind a smoke-screen of "national emergency," strike at the foundations of economic democracy and

prevent teachers from uniting with other workers and consumers in the defense of their living standards. Now, more than ever before, teachers must unite with other trade unionists and with the common people of their school neighborhoods in defending the social gains made under the New Deal.

And teachers must now be on guard against any attempt to infringe on their civil liberties, professional or personal. They cannot *teach* democracy unless they are to *practice* its traditional freedoms.

This Congress will face a terrific drive against the progressive gains made by labor and the common people in the last six years. Progressives in Congress will need all the support and help they can get if they are to protect America from war and the war-makers, and the American people from reactionary conspiracies against their well-being and their liberty.

I therefore call upon the teachers of this country, among whom I have so many friends, to carry the torch of progress high and to redouble their efforts for a free, peaceful, secure and democratic America. I know that they will respond magnificently to that call. I am sure that they will play a big part in organizing and uniting the youth and the parents with whom they work. I am sure they will, through their union and as individuals, bring before their representatives in Congress the cause of the teaching profession, which is the cause of all progressive America.

Here is a concrete program, which I hope the teachers will help in achieving. Write your own Congressman and Senator, asking them to work for this program. Urge your friends to write.

Our chief aim must be to keep America out of war and to do this the following should be done by Congress:

1. Take all the profits out of war.
 - a. Nationalize if possible the munitions industry. That failing, limit the profit thereon.
 - b. Curb all profiteering, particularly on food and other necessities of life.
 - c. Continue the protection of labor's right to organize and bargain collectively in order that they may defend their wages and living standards against war profiteers.
2. Guard against incidents, such as the sinking of the Lusitania, likely to incite war fever in this country.
 - a. Keep American ships out of war danger zones.
 - b. Prohibit the travel of American citizens on belligerent ships.
 - c. Require belligerents to take title to all commodities including food and clothing as well as raw materials of war, such as scrap iron, oil and cotton before they leave American ports.
 - d. Require belligerents to transport all commodities in their own ships.
 - e. No credits either public or private to warring nations.
 - f. Continue the Munitions Control Board requiring all purchases of war supplies to be licensed by the government.
3. Preserve and extend democracy at home.
 - a. Protect the civil liberties (freedom of speech, press and assembly) of all Americans in order that the desire of the American people to remain at peace may continually be voiced.
 - b. Insist on the right of every man to a job at a decent living wage, thereby providing the economic basis of real national unity and patriotism, giving no chance for un-American doctrines to gain headway.

I believe that the vast majority of the American people are agreed on the above program for keeping us out of war, and that we should unite on these major objectives and not allow our forces to be divided and our efforts to maintain peace crippled by the single issue of the arms embargo, for this issue in itself is not the determining factor in keeping our nation at peace.

LEE E. GUYER

U. S. Representative and Former President, Local 430

From Your Legislative Representative

SIR: The following letter has been sent with the approval of the Executive Council to President Roosevelt and to keep people in the House and Senate:

"The American Federation of Teachers numbering approximately 40,000 members desires to give you its point of view on the war situation in Europe as it affects America.

"As teachers and trade unionists we are concerned in keeping America out of the European War which we believe to be an unprincipled fight for power.

"We have definitely no sympathies in the struggle except for the American people and their children whom we teach. To that end we urge you to KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR by,

1. Providing a positive program of jobs to counteract the mirage of "war prosperity" by enacting such bills as the Wagner-Steagall Housing Bill, the Thomas Federal Aid to Education Bill, the Wagner Health Bill, as well as bills to extend WPA and PWA, all legislation which will at the same time provide work and extend the security and well-being of the American people, will have a positive effect in stemming the movement toward war.

2. Immediately curbing the rise in the standard of living, rigidly restricting profiteering on food and other necessities of life.

3. By protecting labor's right to organize and defend its wages and working conditions. This means a defense of existing labor legislation.

4. By protecting civil liberties in order to preserve and extend democracy (under guise of war emergency the common rights of teachers as citizens have in some instances already been assailed).

5. By limiting the profit in the munitions industry and related industries.

6. By preventing the granting of credits either public or private to nations at war.

7. By keeping American ships and citizens out of war-danger zones.

"Finally we believe that laws themselves, arms embargo included, cannot prevent war. Only the will of the people, freely expressed and protected from the propaganda of war mongers, can prevent a "blackout of peace." We therefore urge you to do everything in your power to preserve democracy and insure national security in America.

MARY FOLEY GROSSMAN

Chairman, National Legislative Committee

Two Mistakes—Sorry!

SIR: Your full presentation of the Educational Policies panel discussion, in the September issue, was a noteworthy innovation. I do hope you will find it possible to print in full the other three panel discussions.

I note that in the "Comments from the Floor" the very excellent presentation of two problems by Mr. Cyril Graze of Local 5 was, through some error, credited to me.

In fairness to Mr. Graze this correction should be called to the attention of your readers.

MEYER CASE

Local 5

SIR: Having been away all the summer, I found the AMERICAN TEACHER a very good means of catching up on the report of the conference.

On page 14, in the report of George Googe's speech, he says that the ILGWU's "executive board, a few months ago, voted unanimously to recommend to their next convention return to the family of the AFL . . ." I checked with Editor Danish and it is completely news to him. I do not suppose there could have been an error in transcription of what Mr. Googe said.

MARK STARR

Educational Director, ILGWU

Among the New Books

THE CHANGING ELEMENTARY SCHOOL: Report of the Regents' Inquiry, by LEO J. BRUECKNER and a group of distinguished cooperating specialists. *New York: Inor.* 416 pages. \$3.50.

EDUCATION FOR AMERICAN LIFE: Report of the Regents' Inquiry, by LUTHER HALSEY GULICK. *Chicago: McGraw-Hill.* 167 pages. \$2.00.

IT WAS IN CONNECTION WITH the failure of the Regents' Inquiry Commission to publish this report that I stated in the *AMERICAN TEACHER* (April, 1939) that "the failure to publish a volume dealing with elementary education . . . must stand as a severe indictment of those responsible for the Inquiry until a satisfactory explanation is made." Dr. Gulick's answer was to turn over to me Dr. Brueckner's manuscript¹ with permission to secure a publisher. I am happy to be able to report that this excellent study has now been published by the Inor Publishing Company, 207 Fourth Avenue, New York City. The title is *The Changing Elementary School*.

The principal questions which Dr. Brueckner's study endeavored to answer were:

1. What are the characteristics of the educational product at various levels of the elementary school?
2. What are the elements in the total learning situation, both in and out of school, that condition this product favorably or unfavorably?
3. To what extent does the instructional program represent modern trends in educational thought and practices?
4. What changes in state policy will improve and strengthen the program of elementary education?

The following were among the most important of the major recommendations of the study:

1. The period of elementary education should be regarded as one phase of a well integrated, continuous program which ends for most pupils at an age of about twelve. At this point these pupils should be admitted to post-elementary schools in which a differentiated program is provided, adapted to their level of development, ability and needs. The kindergarten should be established in all localities of the state, except in small rural schools.

2. One-room schools should be discontinued as soon as feasible, except in remote places, in favor of a system of larger central schools. In kindergarten to sixth grade there should not be less than 180 pupils. Six hundred or more pupils would make possible a more

effective program in the elementary school.

3. The curriculum must more clearly and more fully recognize the social function of the schools to prepare its pupils for the assumption of their responsibilities in a changing, industrial, democratic society.

4. Schools in each locality should be encouraged to adapt their programs to the conditions that exist in their community in accordance with an accepted body of principles arrived at by the state through study and discussion, subject, however, to the rigorous scrutiny of the state. State instructional aids should therefore not consist of formal syllabi, as at present, but rather of descriptions of rich varied units of instruction from which teachers are free to select those that seem to be best adapted to their situation. The development of such materials should be encouraged locally.

5. The curriculum must be flexible so that it may provide more adequately for variations in the needs and abilities of pupils. The plan of requiring a number of pupils to repeat the work of a grade should gradually be discontinued in favor of a program of differentiated instruction adjusted to needs, interests and level of development of the pupils. The present plan of requiring pupils in rural schools to pass the preliminary Regents' examination or similar examinations as a basis for admission to post-elementary schools should be discontinued.

6. Instruction should recognize a much broader range of educational objectives than in the past. The schools must contribute as effectively as they may be able to the well-rounded development of the physical, intellectual, social, emotional and moral aspects of the personality of the learner.

7. Instruction must be made more vital and meaningful by relating its content more closely to the affairs of daily life and by emphasizing learning through use in worthwhile social experiences rather than through formal routinized procedures.

8. The school should consciously and definitely provide in its program for the development of desirable character and personality traits of pupils.

9. The state must take steps to equalize more nearly educational opportunity in respect to instructional supplies, materials and equipment.

10. More effective supervision of instruction is necessary than is now provided in most places in the state, especially in supervisory districts where a majority of the beginning teachers have their first teaching experience.

11. Continuing cooperative research and experimentation are necessary and should be encouraged

¹I have been informed that the cost of the Brueckner study was approximately \$35,000. This is to correct the statement in the April number.

and provided for, both locally and by the state.

12. The teaching staff must safeguard the state provisions for tenure by a continuing program of self-improvement through study and travel.

13. State aid for kindergartens recommended.

14. State should study experimentally the matter of establishment of publicly supported nursery schools.

15. State aid should be distributed on an enrollment basis rather than on an attendance basis. Age of pupils rather than grade they attend should be considered in distribution of state aid.

16. State should require all schools to supply free textbooks and essential educational supplies.

17. Adequate program should be established for education of handicapped children.

This book is recommended for purchase by all persons interested in elementary education. Its usefulness is not limited to New York State.

EDUCATION FOR AMERICAN LIFE

This is a well-written summarizing volume, reflecting very well the principal conclusions and recommendations contained in the ten published specialized volumes. Part I is a summary of the findings and recommendations of the Regents' Inquiry. There are three chapters in this section with the titles, "Growing Schools for a Growing World," "The Schools New York State Wants," and "A New Educational Program."

Part II deals with the following three major elements of administration and finance: the improvement

of school-district organization, rebuilding the state education department and costs and economies under the new program.

It was necessarily true that there were many more studies than could be published. Undoubtedly the selection of materials for publication was a most difficult task. In cases of those educational areas in which studies were not published the reader is entirely dependent upon the summarizing statements in *Education for American Life*. This reviewer did not consult all of the unpublished studies. He did, however, read the unpublished study entitled "Higher Education for the State of New York" by Dr. David Spence Hill and President Edward C. Elliott of Purdue University. The recommendations contained in this study are not in harmony with the published recommendations relative to higher education contained in *Education for American Life*. It is not the contention of the reviewer that the Regents' Inquiry Commission was under obligation to accept any or all of the recommendations of its experts. It is contended, however, that when the recommendations of the experts are not made public and when the published recommendations are greatly at variance with the recommendations of the experts, there exists at least the obligation to make clear that the recommendations of the experts are being disregarded. There follow in parallel columns the recommendations relative to higher education contained in Dr. Gulick's summarizing volume and the unpublished recommendations of Dr. Hill and President Elliott.

Gulick's Recommendations Printed in *Education for American Life* and Widely Distributed.

"New York is adequately supplied with private colleges and universities, and public and private professional schools, though it does not have a free state university."...

"No additional state funds should be spent during this generation to set up new colleges or independent professional schools."

"The central institutional need of older youth is not for more academic liberal arts, teacher education, or other professional schools. . . . It is for subprofessional, sub-technical, and general cultural courses such as will be made available through the upward extension of the high school."

Recommendations Contained in "Higher Education for the State of New York" by Hill and Elliott, and Not Published.

"Two bald facts stand out:

(1) Of more than a million adolescents of college age in the State of New York hardly one-eighth are regularly enrolled in college."

(2) Except within the City of New York and in the seven specialized State Colleges [*and all of these charge certain fees but not tuition for bona-fide residents*]* free instruction in general collegiate work does not exist in the State of New York as it does in the vast majority of American states. State scholarships only in small measure mitigate this dearth of free opportunity. Predominantly, general collegiate education is accessible to the economically privileged rather than to the intellectually gifted regardless of wealth or poverty in the State of New York.

"In round figures, the publicly-owned institutions of higher education in the State, including the present three Colleges in the City of New York, annually cost the taxpayers thirteen millions of dollars. If we consider only the publicly-owned institutions of higher education in the State situated outside the City of New York, a startling contrast is found for their total annual cost to the tax-payers is about six millions of dollars—even if 21 institutions of diverse kinds are included in the total. They are the five state colleges, two teachers' colleges, nine normal schools, [*Gulick recommends closing some of the normal schools*] School for the Blind, Marine Academy—and the state scholarships may also be included in the total. At the same time, more than twenty-seven millions of dollars were appropriated in 1935 by the State of New York for institutions for mental hygiene, treatment of mental defectives, etc. . . .

"It is wellknown that the State of New York is not only near the top of the list in wealth per child, but it also has a relatively high ratio of the number of adults to the number of children and youth to be educated. . . . This means that the State of New York has great wealth and more persons per youth to support higher education than have nine-tenths of the other states.

"In years to come it could happen that the present monetary savings apparently result-

*All material in italics is Professor Myers' comment.

ing from withholding by the State of New York of accessible opportunities for general collegiate education from capable but poor youths not residing in the City of New York will result disastrously. Ultimate losses both of wealth and of liberty can arise out of uneducated, resentful leadership in the future once it gets control of the greater enterprise of the people.

"Youth in New York State go to college in remarkable numbers. In this State a greater percentage of the boys and girls go on with their education after high school than in any other populous state with the single exception of California. . . . The New York State system of providing college and university education, principally through private institutions, and supplementing their scholarship funds with three thousand state scholarships, is in most ways remarkably successful."

"The U. S. Office of Education estimated that for 1931 New York ranked sixth among the States in the number of students whose homes are in State and attending institutions in the same State. That is, per 1,000 inhabitants 18 to 21 years of age inclusive, the number of students thus at the top of the scale was Washington 184; California 176; Utah 166; Oregon 152; Kansas 143; New York 137. [*If New York City were left out of the tabulation, New York State would be much farther down in the list. It might reasonably be expected that New York would stand at the top of the list since New York has only 10 per cent of the population of the country and more than one-fourth of the volume of the national income on which income tax returns are filed.*]

"The establishment of free tuition in liberal arts institutions, under State support and for youth of the State living outside of the City of New York would be resisted by many boards as well as by executives and professors of nonpublicly-owned colleges. [*Dr. Gulick is at Columbia.*] . . . It remains to be proved how far this attitude is merely reaction to a bogey, since thousands of youth would not go to any college unless the existing economic hurdles of tuition and fees were overcome by the State.

"Due to the termination of the Emergency Collegiate Centers which were being maintained throughout the State by Federal funds, several thousand two-year college students probably will not be able to continue their college education in the State of New York.

"Between one-half million and one million dollars are probably now being expended annually by the State in apportionments for 'post-graduate' high-school students. This amount could go far in the state-subsidization of properly organized junior colleges.

"Assistant Commissioner Horner's estimate in 1934 that 10,000 young persons in the State of New York were being prevented from doing college work on account of financial incapacity appears to be conservative."

"To meet these conditions, the following steps are recommended:

"Amend the law to limit rigorously the incorporation of further independent general arts colleges and universities.

"Appropriate no state funds for the establishment of any state-wide system of 'junior colleges' or of a state university, and authorize no city, county, or other area to set up new liberal arts colleges.

"Double the number of competitive state scholarships available for those wishing to go to college by raising the number to six thousand, and increase the stipend from \$100, as was fixed by law in 1913 when college tuitions were \$100 or less, to an amount sufficient to pay the tuition of each scholarship winner in any college in the State he may select, but not to exceed \$400 . . . Authorize local school authorities to finance competitive scholarships for not more than 5 per cent of a graduating class, to be awarded by the Commissioner of Education.

"Create one hundred Regents' Graduate Fellowships of \$400 each to be available for graduate academic, scientific, and professional study, and to be awarded by the Commissioner in accordance with the plan suggested.

"Continue the present complex affiliation between the State and Cornell, Alfred, Syracuse, and St. Lawrence Universities, but enter into no more such arrangements. In other words, rely on the New York State scholarship system, not on the western public university system, for the realization of greater equality of educational opportunity at the college and university level."

"Recommended Policy:

"More State responsibility than is now being carried by the State should be assumed by the Legislature in providing opportunities for general collegiate education outside of the City of New York.

"This assumption of enlarged responsibility for collegiate education would include: . . . Enlargement of opportunity for general, collegiate education, in distinction from the present five or six kinds of specialized semi-professional offerings of the State Colleges . . . should also be facilitated by a thorough-going revision of the system of state scholarships." [*Elsewhere in the report it is stated: (p. 83) 'The State Scholarships arouse keen competition in high-school pupils who strive to excel in passing Regents' Examinations. In 1935, there were ten times more applicants with college entrance diplomas for these Scholarships than there were awards of the Scholarships.'*]

"The Legislature should be asked to authorize communities of sufficient population and resources to establish local, but not state junior colleges; . . . to provide for state subventions of junior colleges at the rate of \$100 per annum per student-unit of average daily attendance, the total such subvention not to exceed annually the sum of \$2,000,000 during the next five years."

[*There followed an excellent statement of proposed standards and rules for these proposed tax-supported junior colleges.*]

"More attention at Albany [*should be given*] to the nature and costs of the total programs for accessory instruction now being purchased from Alfred, Cornell, and Syracuse Universities.

"The agreements with non-publicly owned institutions should be changed with reference to the manner of fixing fees and charges for students of state colleges. The Board of Regents might ask of the Legislature sole authority, acting through the State Commissioner of Education, to accept or to reject in advance any and all rates or charges to be made for accessory or other instruction to be proffered to the State by Alfred, Cornell, and Syracuse Universities. . . . A thoroughgoing investigation of this whole problem should be made by the Commissioner for the Board of Regents."

What more need be said? The record speaks for itself. Dr. Gulick told me that there were distributed 10,000 free copies of *Education for American Life*. How many copies were sold I do not know. It is clear that Dr. Gulick has published conclusions and recommendations that are completely opposed to the conclusions and recommendations of his experts in the field of higher education. I would not question the propriety of this if Dr. Gulick had made public the findings of the experts and if he had made it clear that he was going counter to their recommendations. He did neither of these things.

We are confronted here with an unusually serious situation. The Regents' Inquiry Into the Character and Cost of Public Education in the State of New York was instigated by Owen D. Young, a member of the Board of Regents. The General Education Board (Rockefeller) supplied the money for the Inquiry, \$500,000. There has been tremendous publicity attendant upon the publication of the report, *Education for American Life*. The public believes that the Regents' Inquiry provides a safe and reliable charter for the redirection of public education in New York State. Yet here we have clearly revealed practices that cannot be condoned. How many other such "skeltons" there may be in the Regents' Inquiry files I do not know. I do know that enough has been revealed to cast suspicion upon the entire enterprise. Until these suspicions can be dispelled, the recommendations and statements in *Education for American Life* cannot be accepted as a reliable study of the character and cost of public education in New York State. I, therefore, recommend that the Legislature of the State of New York make an official investigation of the Regents' Inquiry Into the Character and Cost of Public Education in the State of New York.

ALONZO F. MYERS.

LABOR PROBLEMS AND THE AMERICAN SCENE, by LOIS MACDONALD, *New York: Harper.* 878 pages. \$3.50.

IN A LARGE COUNTRY LIKE THE UNITED STATES where industrial and agricultural centers develop in circles whose circumferences never touch, where even in the same cities there is practically no contact between industrial, professional, or small business groups, labor unions, to the uninformed, seem like strange phenomena unrelated to the American scene. One of the best features of Miss MacDonald's book is its clear picture of typical American communities showing that American unions emerge logically from their environment; that they are largely indigenous to the varied American soil, with all the virtues and shortcomings of such an evolution.

The book is carefully documented and admirably organized to give the reader a comprehensive and yet not superficial picture of the American Labor Movement emerging from a variety of typical American scenes such as Middletowns, coal camps, textile mill villages and clothing centers in large cities. Excellent sections present workers on the job, showing the problems of such varying groups as steel workers and white-collar workers. One part is devoted to cheap-labor groups, giving a clear

analysis of the economic conditions of women and young workers, immigrants and agricultural workers, and the negro worker. After a section on the problems of workers in a machine age, the reader is ready for the very full and clear discussion of the American Labor Movement then presented. There follow discussions on the approach of the employer, and labor and the state as related to protective legislation and labor disputes; and a conclusion which brings the labor problems of America up to the present.

Those who teach American labor to students on the college level have long needed a text like Miss MacDonald's. The book is also an admirable source of information for the lay person who desires to get a comprehensive and reliable picture of American labor. It has been prepared in accordance with high standards of scholarship and is furnished with enough detail so that each aspect is a solid piece of information and can serve as the basis for further investigation by the reader.

Chicago Teachers College

LILLIAN HERSTEIN

HEROES OF THOUGHT, by J. MIDDLETON MURRY. *New York: Messner.* 368 pages. \$3.75.

MR. MURRY is a well-known British literary critic of broadly liberal persuasion. In *Heroes of Thought* he is concerned to sound a call for a return to Christian, democratic and socialistic fundamentals in political and cultural life. He is urging such a revivification of faith in God and exemplification of Christian love as will allow a universal church to assume in a selfconscious collectivistic democracy the integral role it played in the infinitely simpler collective society of the Middle Ages.

Mr. Murry tries to show that democracy and socialism are part and parcel of the Christian ethic. His method of doing this is to indicate that the "heroes of thought" with whom he is also believed and accepted this relationship. He presents in turn Chaucer, Montaigne, Shakespeare, Cromwell, Milton, Rousseau, Goethe, Godwin, Wordsworth, Shelley, Marx and Morris against the social, economic and cultural backgrounds of their worlds. The story of Western Europe's defection from medieval Christian collectivism is told in terms of the fundamental spiritual emphases of these men. The design of this story is hidden by literary preciousness while Milton, Goethe, Godwin and Wordsworth are being considered, but it emerges clearly again as Rousseau, Marx and William Morris are interpreted. Mr. Murry sees in the words and deeds of these "heroes" man's effortful striving toward the rebirth of faith in a spiritual and moral ordering of the environment. Because of the invention of machinery and the consequent availability of enormous quantities of physical energy which followed upon bourgeois individualism this goal has been lost from sight. A great effort of the imagination is necessary to bring it into view again, but unless it is brought into view so that the masses of men see it and cling to it there is little hope of arresting the mad pace of man-made destructive forces in our modern world. Germany is cited as an example of large-scale refusal to deal imaginatively and wisely with the vast energies now available.

While Mr. Murry makes much of the role of the Church in the collective democracy which he hopes will emerge out of present chaos, it is by no means the Church that we now know. He recognizes the sorry tagging after capitalists that characterizes the Protestants and the shoddy bargaining with fascism that describes the Catholics.

The chief function of *Heroes of Thought* would seem to be that of disturbing somewhat the social and economic complacency of the few academic intellectuals who may read it. The book lacks significance for the lay reader for two reasons: first because of the frequent literary preciousness already referred to; and second because it is much more a confessional for Mr. Murry himself than a social document of real importance.

Ohio State University

NORMAN WOELFEL

On the Labor Front

Edited from the Labor Press and the Federated Press

THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES'

Garment Workers' Union reported at the general executive board meeting here that 1938 was the most prosperous year in the history of the union.

Receipts of \$6,171,252 set a new record, exceeding the 1937 figure of \$5,847,957 by a comfortable margin. The preceding year's deficit of \$18,701 was converted into a surplus of \$1,022,660, since disbursements were held to \$5,148,591 as against \$5,866,658 in 1937.

President David Dubinsky said that three chief factors accounted for the surplus of more than a million dollars: membership increase coupled with speedier payment of dues, an increase in the union's reserves for such special funds as sick and death benefits, and a saving of almost \$500,000 through a decrease in the number of strikes.

In 1937 the union contributed \$67,243 in per capita dues to the CIO, plus \$155,000 to the Textile Workers Organizing Committee and the Steel Workers Organizing Committee. Last November the ILGWU withdrew from the CIO, having paid \$40,796 in per capita dues for 1938 up until that time.

The educational and recreational department was allotted \$153,927 in 1938, compared with \$177,924 in the preceding year. Total organizational expenses, including strike benefits, salaries of union officers, hall rents, advertising, legal fees and other items, were \$2,781,172, a sharp decline from the \$3,617,444 of 1937.

The report covers 298 local unions (in 1937 the number was 288), 20 joint boards and 7 regional departments in the U. S. and Canada, as well as the general office of the union.



THE AMALGAMATED CLOTHING

Workers (CIO) has signed a 2-year renewal of its industrywide contract covering 40,000 workers, marking 18 years of agreements reached through peaceful negotiation.

The contract was signed by the New York Clothing Manufacturers Exchange, which represents 214 manufacturers and 365 contractors producing 40 per cent of the country's men's clothing and doing a \$300,000,000 yearly business.

Conditions under the new agreement, which are the same as under the old one, include the 12 per cent wage increase won in 1937 and the 36-hour week won in 1933. The union has set up a stabilizing committee to establish a national wage scale on each type of garment. Special Assistant U. S. Atty. Walter Brower has been appointed impartial arbitrator in the industry to replace Dr. Henry Moscovitz.

"The new agreement is a living example of how democracy in industry can

work," said President Sidney Hillman. "It proves that the laws of the jungle need not dominate employer-employee relations."



ON SUNDAY, JULY 30, 7-YEAR-OLD

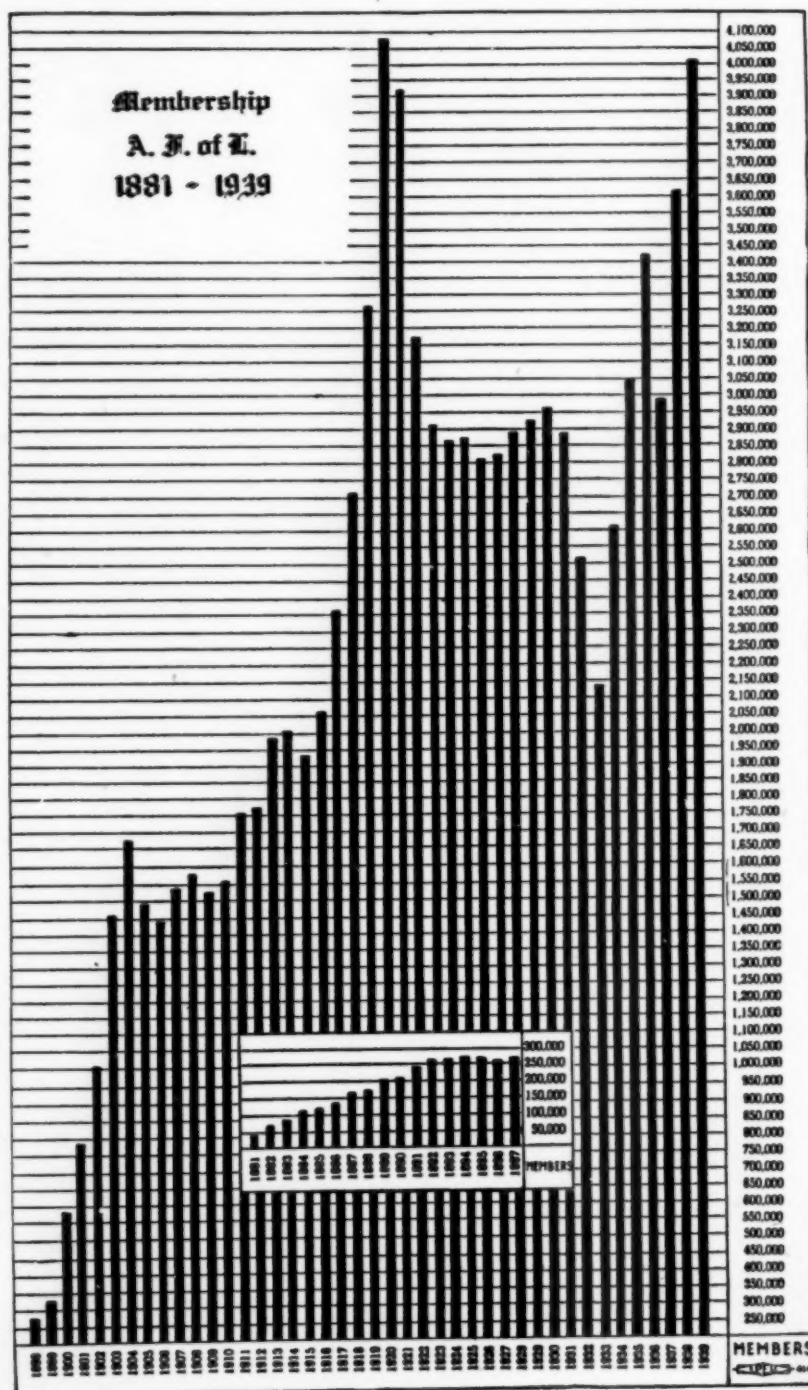
Jacquelyn Ann Engelmann trudged manfully at the head of the picket line before the Kohler plant near Sheboygan, Wis.

Behind her in silent, solemn proces-

sion marched some 150 men and women who walked in another picket line with Henry Engelmann, her father, on July 27, 1934, the day he was shot and killed by Walter J. Kohler's special deputies. Jacquelyn Ann's second birthday came the week he was buried.

Every working day since midsummer of that year strikers have carried their banners in front of the Kohler gates.

Sunday's line of march was marked



with unusual solemnity, for it was a part of the fifth annual memorial services conducted by Kohler strikers for Engelmann and for Lee Wakefield, another Kohler worker who fell in the blast of gunfire on that fateful day.

Jacquelyn Ann beamed proudly as she carried a wreath of roses later laid on her father's grave. Engelmann's parents and the parents of Lee Wakefield, slightly bowed, marched too.

They marched past the sprawling plumbing fixtures plant and past Kohler village — the touted "model village" which former Governor Kohler, the "bathtub king," rules like a feudal baron — to the Kraedemann farm in the open country.

There under the hot sun Jac Friedrich, organizer for the Milwaukee Federated Trades Council, retold the history of his long, bitter strike, and former Representative Thomas R. Amlie praised the bravery of men and women "fighting against industrial autocracy for the liberties of free men."

In the summer of 1934, Friedrich recalled, Walter J. Kohler, Sr., only 18 months out of the governor's chair, was one of Wisconsin's eminently respected citizens.

Kohler workers saw him differently. Sheboygan wages, industrial commission figures show, are among the lowest in the state. Men working in the Kohler pottery department were paid ten cents for each toilet bowl. Working fast, they could average 22 bowls in an 8-hour day. There were frequent complaints of silicosis hazards.

Dissatisfaction came to a head in the summer of 1933 when over 1,800 employees joined the AFL Federal Labor Union No. 18454. The company responded by sponsoring the Kohler Workers Association.

On July 16, 1934, about 1,000 workers struck. Anton Brotz, chief engineer for the company, was the mayor of the village. He swore in other company officials and non-strikers as deputy police. Some were given black shirts to distinguish them. All were given guns or "billy" clubs.

On the evening of July 27 more than 2,000 strikers, their wives and sympathizers, angered by a long series of provocations by the armed deputies, gathered at the plant. Some one threw a rock and broke a window. Deputies threw teargas bombs. Strikers returned some of them.

The deputies replied with lead. Henry Engelmann and Lee Wakefield fell dead. Forty-seven others were wounded. All received their shots in the back.

★

INITIATIVE 131, OREGON'S FAMOUS anti-labor law which was passed last year, was recently upheld unanimously on all counts by a three-judge state circuit court. The AFL, CIO and railroad unions have announced that an appeal will be taken to the state supreme court and, if that body should

fail to reverse the lower court, to the United States Supreme Court.

The law was put over by the Associated Farmers and the Oregon Business Council in the election last fall. The La Follette Civil Liberties Committee is expected to investigate the situation under which the statute was passed.

★

THE FIGHT AGAINST THE APEX

decision which recently held the Hosiery Workers Union (CIO) for \$711,932 damages under the provisions of the Sherman Anti-trust Act is being carried forward by the Union, the National Lawyers Guild and the American Civil Liberties Union.

The arguments of labor's counsel have been that the Sherman Anti-trust Act does not apply to labor unions since the act was written to help and not hinder organized labor.

★

AN IMMEDIATE STRIKE OF 12,000

film craftsmen was averted when the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees (AFL) and the Association of Motion Picture Producers agreed on a 10-per-cent wage increase amounting to about \$2,500,000 annually.

The producers had fought against the raise on the grounds that the European war had caused considerable cut in profits. Negotiations will continue on the union's demand for shorter hours and improved working conditions.

The IATSE was certified by the NLRB as collective bargaining agency for the film craftsmen after defeating the independent United Studio Technicians Guild by 4,460 to 1,957 in an election at ten leading studios.

★

THE SOCIAL SECURITY ACT, THE

Labor Relations Act and the Wage-Hours Act, which form "the charter of industrial and economic democracy for the wage earners of the nation," are in danger of "being mangled by lobbies which . . . seek by flank attacks to chop these laws to pieces," Elmer F. Andrews, wage-hours administrator, warned in a nationally broadcast speech recently.

"Literally millions of workers, the neediest, the least organized and the economically weakest of all wage earners are threatened by pending or proposed amendments to these great pieces of labor and social legislation," Andrews declared.

He denounced, by name, the Associated Farmers of California and its stooge outfit, the Agricultural Producers' Labor Committee directed by Ivan G. McDaniel, Los Angeles lobbyist-lawyer.

The Associated Farmers of California, Andrews described as "a notorious labor-busting outfit of the West Coast which is largely financed by the chamber of commerce of California, big utility interests and employers opposed to organized labor."

"The Associated Farmers has a long record of trying to solve their labor troubles by violence. It is a matter of notorious record that they have suppressed free speech, a free press, the right peaceably to assemble, the right to petition—just about all the constitutional guarantees that were intended to safeguard the liberties of a free people."

★

MORE THAN ONE MILLION PER-

sons throughout the United States are being provided with improved health services through the group plans, Dr. Kingsley Roberts, director of the Bureau of Cooperative Medicine, reported to the first convention on cooperative medicine held in New York. The convention adopted a resolution to set up a national organization for establishing and maintaining standards of practice for cooperative health plans throughout the country. Fifteen states were represented. Representatives of the AFL, CIO and railroad unions commended cooperative medical practice to the convention.

Labor speakers included Dr. H. P. Wells, medical director for the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, President Jacob Baker of the United Federal Workers (CIO) and President Elmer Brown of Local 6, International Typographical Union. The groups voting to establish the new association were: Civic Medical Center, Chicago; Farmers Union Cooperative Hospital, Elk City, Okla.; Group Health Association, Washington, D. C.; Greenbelt Cooperative Health Association, Greenbelt, Md.; Group Health Association, New York City; Group Health Mutual, St. Paul; Milwaukee Medical Center, Milwaukee; Ross Loos Medical Group, Los Angeles; Trinity Hospital, Little Rock, Ark.;

Twenty-five Years A Union Paper House

ORDER

your
Union Mimeograph!
Union Manifesto!
Union Writing Paper!
Union Envelopes!

Made and Sold By

THE ONLY 100% UNION
PAPER HOUSE IN AMERICA

The McGregor Paper Co.

515 S. Wells St.,
Chicago, Ill.

Wage Earners Health Association, St. Louis.

In the meantime group health plans continue to spring up. In Arkansas, under the Farm Security Administration, a group plan is in effect in about 75 per cent of the counties in the state. Under this plan the FSA clients make arrangements with each county medical society and with individual physicians for payment of monthly fees into a pool. In case of illness, members may call on any of the participating physicians and fees are then paid out of the pool.

In Kenosha, Wis., representatives of the AFL and CIO are making joint plans for a cooperative medical, dental and surgical service for their members and their families. A similar movement is under way in Racine, Wis.

In Michigan, where the Michigan State Medical Society has proposed a group medical plan, President R. J. Thomas of the United Automobile Workers (CIO) has made the following comparison between the Medical Society's proposed plan and the services offered by the Milwaukee Medical Center, which has 19 organizations affiliated in the group plan including AFL and CIO unions:

Milwaukee Medical Center (actual operation)	
Cost per month—Individual.....	\$1.00
Man and wife.....	2.00
Family	3.00
Registration fee	none
Additional fee	none
Eligibility—Individual or group (no medical examination re- quired if in group).....	
No income limit.....	
Service—Unlimited	

Michigan Medical Society (proposed plan)	
Cost per month—Individual.....	\$2.00
Man and wife.....	3.50
Family	4.50
Registration fee	1.00
Additional fee.....	\$5.00 of first bill
Eligibility—Must be group of 25 or more	
Not more than \$2000 income a year single; \$2500 family.....	
Service—Up to \$325 a year for individual; \$550 for man and wife; \$875 for family.....	

★ THE NLRB HAS ORDERED THE

Atlas Powder Co. of Stamford, Conn., to stop interfering with the rights of its employees to self-organization. At the same time the Board ruled that John Martinech, union secretary, and Klym Markevich, union member, were not discharged because of activities for the United Mine Workers Union. Evidence before the Board disclosed the following picture of the Company's activity.

Following a consent election held on December 8, 1937, which the union lost by a 292 to 96 count, a parade was held throughout the plant and through the town headed by the company foreman, Felix Di Prisco. After the parade, a

celebration was held on plant premises, which was participated in by employees of all departments of the plant except those in the lacquer- and pressrooms who continued working. Work in the other departments was apparently abandoned. The celebration continued throughout the afternoon and evening, and participants hanged and burned effigies of union officers. Di Prisco passed out intoxicating liquor to the men. At the close of the day a dance was held at the office, during which some property damage to the company's building occurred. When the celebration was beginning the assistant superintendent of the department went through announcing that "anyone that voted right could go over and have a good time." The general manager told the celebrators that "apparently it appeared as if they liked the way it came out and I may have told them I was glad they liked it." The Board found that no one gave permission for the dance to the employees, and that no disciplinary action against the employees who organized the dance or caused damage to the company's property was taken.

"The foregoing activities of the respondent", the Board held, "indicating its hostile attitude toward the Union, engendered among the respondent's employees the fear of reprisals for union activities."

★ THE "FALSE ECONOMY" OF MAYOR

Jasper McLevy in "jeopardizing the health of Bridgeport's school children" by refusing to accept the services of a free school doctor from the Federal Government has been condemned by the Bridgeport Central Labor Union (AFL) and the Bridgeport Board of Health.

★ THE FIRST CITYWIDE UNION SHOP

contract covering newspaper editorial and business department workers has been signed between the American Newspaper Guild (CIO) and the San Francisco-Oakland Newspaper Publishers Association.

The agreement, covering 1,400 workers, provides wage increases setting the weekly minimum for experienced reporters at \$57.69 on morning papers and \$55.32 on afternoon papers.

★ A PRECEDENT WAS ESTABLISHED

in local labor history when locals of a CIO and an AFL international union made a joint agreement with a group of employers. The unions involved are Local 76B of the United Furniture Workers (CIO) and the New York Wood Carvers and Modelers Association, affiliated with the International Wood Carvers Association.

A chief aim of the three-way pact is to eliminate cut-throat competition by small contractors for wood-carving work. The agreement provides the closed shop, and arranges for hiring of equal numbers of AFL and CIO workers through a joint committee representing both

unions. Eight of the 15 employers in the industry have already signed up.

★ LOCAL 10, POINT-TO-POINT DIVI-

sion of the American Communications Association (CIO), has signed a new agreement with RCA Communications, Inc., covering 1,320 workers.

Most important are the clauses providing for job security in cases of technological improvements. The company has agreed to confer with the union before introducing new machinery, in order to reduce layoffs to a minimum.

Workers laid off under these circumstances will be notified at least six months in advance, will be given an opportunity to train for jobs in other classifications and will obtain these jobs on a seniority basis. They will receive severance pay of one week's wages for each year with the company if they have been employed for less than five years, and two weeks' wages for each year if they have been employed for more than five years.

★ THE FOLLOWING UNIONS HAVE

recently endorsed the third term for President Roosevelt: the National Match Workers Council (AFL), the United Rubber Workers (CIO), the Hosiery Workers (CIO) and the United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers (CIO).

The Connecticut State Federation of Labor at its 54th annual convention adopted a resolution urging the AFL convention to give its full support to President Roosevelt and the New Deal.

★ BECAUSE OF THE DECISION OF

the United States Supreme Court in the Lloyd Gaines case, the state legislature of Missouri passed a bill reorganizing Lincoln University for Negroes so that they may now take work at a new law school. Nineteen Negroes registered at the law schools.

Negroes picketed the school in St. Louis, protesting what they called "makeshift" equality. State attorneys argued that to admit Gaines to the University of Missouri makes it a "reasonable certainty" that "a great amount of trouble" would be created.

In Tampa, Fla., the AFL is investigating Jim Crow practices that have cost 500 Negro workers their jobs. President William Green took action after receiving a complaint from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

In Tennessee two suits have been filed in the United States Court attacking the constitutionality of a poll tax. Joseph S. Gelders, secretary of the Committee on Civil Rights of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, said that the case of Harry Pirtle will decide in a clear-cut legal fashion whether states have a right to tax on a vital federal franchise. Seven southern states, including Tennessee, have the poll-tax requirement as a prerequisite to voting.

(Continued from Page 2)

porary National Economic Committee and the Wages and Hours office.

A new survey of the migratory cotton workers in Arizona shows that half of the 577 workers interviewed average \$7.95 a week or less, and almost one-fourth less than \$6.00 a week. Large families with 4 workers or more average \$18.38 a week.

The study centered in Maricopa, Pinal and Pima Counties, the three most important cotton producing counties in the state. Interviews were held most in the evening and during Sunday when no picking was done. Maricopa County has been the center of Associated Farmers' activity.

"Since 1929," the report states, "the Arizona cotton growers have depended on migratory cotton pickers from the western states. By 1930 the reduced acreage, the depression and the established flow of western cotton states people through Arizona made it unnecessary any longer to offer rebates or free transportation.

"In 1937 a small expenditure for recruiting brought great results. Although in 1920-21 approximately \$300,000 was spent to secure a cheap labor supply of 20,000, in 1937 the greatest single expense in recruiting 30,000 workers was an item of about \$900 for want ads in newspapers."

* * *

Two WPA studies of urban work opportunities, one in Birmingham, Ala., and one in Toledo, Ohio, found one-fourth of the workers unemployed. In Birmingham 26 per cent of the city's employable persons were unemployed in private jobs and fewer than one-fourth of these were on federal work projects. An additional 10 per cent in the labor market were working less than 30 hours a week. The study, which was made in March, 1939, covered 42,392 Birmingham residents.

Other of its findings show that 19 per cent of all white workers were unemployed compared with 34 per cent of the Negro workers. Families with a member on WPA have not had a full-time job in private industry lasting two weeks or more for an average of almost two years. Less than one-fifth of the married white women were in the labor market, while more than two-fifths of the married Negro women were working or seeking work. Eleven per cent of married white women held full-time jobs, and about 33 per cent of the Negro women in the labor market held full-time jobs.

In Toledo 28 per cent of the normal working population was found to be idle, and 9 per cent more works fewer than 30 hours a week. It has been 14 months since any member of an unemployed family has held a private job lasting two weeks. The employed have held their jobs on an average of 21 months, and slightly less than 49 per cent have been working at the same job for more than two years. One-

third of the idle workers of Toledo are currently employed by WPA, NYA or CCC. Fifteen per cent of the married women in Toledo are in the labor market. The average age of workers on WPA is 42 years.

Similar surveys have been made in San Francisco and New Bedford, Mass.

* * *

The Wages and Hours Division has recently reported that the much heralded difference in cost of living between the North and South is only about 3.1 per cent. In 5 southern cities housing and fuel costs were found to be less than in northern cities, but these were offset by higher prices for clothing, furniture and furnishings.

With these facts in mind, the report of the Federal Trade Commission on its investigation of the motor-vehicle industry, which was submitted to Congress on June 5, becomes interesting. From 1927-37 General Motors averaged 35.5 per cent profit, Chrysler 28.6 per cent profit and Ford .8 per cent loss due to reconstruction of its factory in 1927 and '28. From 1927-38 Nash averaged 36.9 per cent profit, Packard 21.2 per cent profit, Hudson 9.4 per cent profit and Studebaker 6.1 per cent profit. During 35½ years of operation, the report said, the Ford Motor Company manufactured nearly 27,000,000 automobiles, sold them for \$14,000,000,000 and made an aggregate profit of a little less than \$1,000,000,000. In 29 years General Motors made net profits amounting to \$3,013,031,048 before payment of income taxes. Chrysler's net profits in 13 years were over \$355,000,000 before payment of income taxes.

* * *

The basis on which some of America's giant corporations have been developing during the past few years was indicated in the recent hearings before the Temporary National Economic Committee. Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., chairman of the board of General Motors, testified that in the past 18 years his corporation had had sales of about \$17,000,000,000 and profits of \$2,300,000,000. Of those huge profits \$480,000,000 had been kept in the business while \$520,000,000 were charged off to depreciation. He added that General Motors would be able to finance itself for some time to come and would even be able to finance the purchasers of its products to a large extent.

Oscar L. Altman, economist in the Securities and Exchange Commission, summed up these facts in the following manner:

1. In no year since 1922 have business enterprises relied upon the capital markets for as much as \$2,000,000,000 of new savings in any one year for the purchase of new plant and equipment, despite average annual expenditures of \$8,500,000,000 for the years 1923-29 and of \$5,800,000,000 for the period 1935-37.

2. The major source of funds for the

construction of plant and for the purchase of machinery and equipment has been business savings plus funds set aside as depreciation and depletion allowance.

3. Funds set aside by business enterprises for depreciation and depletion have in recent years been 50 per cent greater than they were in the early 1920's.

* * *

A recent preliminary report of the Temporary National Economic Committee stated: "The tendency toward the concentration of control of the economic system in fewer and fewer business executives seems proved. The consequence of that tendency is a steadily lessening number of competitors.

"It has been the traditional conviction of the people of the United States that the opportunity of the citizen to engage in business should not be restricted and that a system of free open competition is best calculated to preserve that opportunity. It is clear, however, that the financial and other resources required for economic endeavor are becoming increasingly difficult for the ordinary enterpriser to obtain and that concentration of economic power and wealth is accompanied by increasing unemployment and narrowing markets."

* * *

And finally, the recent 396-page report of the National Resources Committee on the structure of American economy establishes that the depression loss in income through the enforced idleness of men and machines amounted to \$200,000,000,000 worth of goods and services during the past 8 years. If the nation's productive forces had kept up with the increase in labor force, the report declares, the extra income would have been enough to provide a new \$6,000 home for every family in the country or enough to scrap and rebuild the entire railroad system of the country at least five times over.

The problem, the Committee warned, is one of immediate importance and not just an academic exercise in economics. "It is a surprising comment on a nation that prides itself on its skill in organization, administration and in management that such tremendous waste of resources can occur," it says. "The abundance of natural resources and the continental pioneering that has been necessary for their development may in part account for the past waste," it continues. "With the continent spanned, the frontier shifts from the bringing of new resources into control to the more effective use of resources already controlled. Here is the great challenge of today. . . .

"The time for finding a solution," the Committee pointedly warned, "is not unlimited."

GEORGE T. GUERNSEY

IT'S FREE...

"The Challenge of Democracy to Education"

WHAT are the goals of our schools? Are they meeting today's educational needs in the American way? Are our children learning to think for themselves or will they fall in line behind a rabble rouser? Can we cut across economic and racial barriers to provide equal educational opportunity for all young Americans?



economic and racial barriers to provide equal educational opportunity for all young Americans?

Beulah Amidon, editor, and 31 distinguished educators and journalists answer these urgent

questions in the special October *Survey Graphic*—**SCHOOLS: The Challenge of Democracy to Education**, the successor to our three-edition smash hit, "Calling America."

They discuss the warning of our jobless youth—wonders wrought in nursery schools—what we ask of grade and high schools—universities in relation to modern life—adult education—the educationally underprivileged—race discrimination—freedom—the heart of the problem: teachers—propaganda—next steps—what every parent must know.

The caliber of the contributors to this issue suggests the high standard of articles in every issue of *Survey Graphic*, the magazine Charles A. Beard "has long regarded as indispensable"; E. C. Lindeman, John Chamberlain, Myron M. Stearns, John R. Tunis, Max McConn, Scott Buchman, Alvin Johnson, Farnsworth Crowder, Ordway Tead, William Allan Neilson, K. N. Llewellyn, Carson Ryan and 20 others. Over 50

photographs, charts and drawings supplement the text.

Coming soon in other issues of *Survey Graphic* is a special supplement in which Clyde R. Miller, director of the Institute for Propaganda Analysis analyzes the discussion of propaganda by Freda Kirchwey, editor of *The Nation*; Howard Dietz, Publicity Director of MGM; Franklin Dunaham of NBC and Professor Harold Lasswell and other spokesmen for radio, press, movies and religion at Williamstown. Also, a continuation of the series on American Cities in Transition including St. Louis by Audrey Granneberg, Santa Barbara by Katherine Glover—an account by S. K. Ratcliff of what America looks like to a British visitor—Ladies and Lynchers by Lewis T. Nordyke—The Impractical Practical Nurse by Edith M. Stern—Charney Vladeck by John Herling and a series on Federal Arts by Henry Alsberg, Hallie Flanagan, Warren Cheney.

★ ★ ★

SPECIAL OFFER

Single copies of the October issue (not generally available on newsstands) sell for 40 cents to the layman or 25 cents to readers of *The American Teacher*. The annual subscription price of *Survey Graphic* is \$3. For the next five issues—and the October issue free—mail only \$1 with the coupon below today!

SURVEY GRAPHIC

112 East 19th Street, New York City

☐ Send me your October number free and the next five issues for the dollar I enclose, or ☐ For the 25 cents I enclose send me the October issue.

Name.....

Address.....

AT